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The Shape of Things

THREE YEARS AGO THE FRENCH REPUBLIC was given up for dead. Seven months ago it was revived, albeit in ghastly caricature and on condition that it be governed by one of the men who had betrayed it. Six months ago, with the death of Darlan, an effort was made to establish in power a man who, while loyal to France, was hardly to be counted a champion of liberty. Today France once more has an army in the field, a capital at Algiers, and, if not a full-fledged government, at least a respected and self-respecting trustee of its traditions and its sovereignty. Thus the political nature of this war asserts itself despite all attempts to treat the struggle in strictly military terms. For this consummation, long and devoutly wished, one man is entitled to the plaudits of the democratic world—General Charles de Gaulle. Through three years of rebuffs, scarcely veiled hostility, and diplomatic scheming, he has held to his unalterable resolve to keep France fighting until the invader is ousted, the Republic restored, and the people given an opportunity to start afresh with a government of their own choosing. General Giraud has had on his side the bulk of the growing French army and the weight of Anglo-American diplomatic favor. De Gaulle has had on his side an unquenchable persistence—and the loyal support of the mass of the French people. This loyalty, discouraged by his political foes wherever possible and belittled by propaganda, has been magnificently demonstrated by the wave of joy and enthusiasm that attended his arrival in Algiers. The newly formed committee which will govern the French Empire until the liberation of France itself has a thorny path to follow, but its composition offers hope, and friends of France can only wish it well.

*

THAT LARGE WAX-SEALED ENVELOPE WHICH Joseph E. Davies is carrying home from Moscow may contain Premier Stalin's acceptance of an invitation to confer in person with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. If it does, the fact will confirm numerous indications that the Soviet Union's relations with its two major allies are at last rising from the level of cagey horse-trading to a plane of mutual trust and sincere collaboration. The President let it be known on three earlier

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occasions that he would welcome a session with Mr. Stalin, only to be turned down on the thin pretext that the Russian leader was too busy carrying on the war. The impression was left that Stalin wished to avoid a showdown on such questions as an immediate second front and disputed boundary claims at a time when his dependence on lend-lease aid made it unlikely that he could have the last word. If he is now prepared to confer with his allies it is probable that he has found reason to trust their good-will and judgment in the conduct of the war and to abandon his understandable fears of an anti-Soviet *cordon sanitaire* with the coming of the peace. The successful Washington mission of Anthony Eden, followed by that of President Benes of Czechoslovakia, both pro-Russian, the unprecedentedly warm reception to Davies, Moscow's enthusiastic celebration, with American participation, of the anniversary of the Anglo-Russian treaty, the Russian editorial tributes to American aid, the dissolution of the Comintern, and the increasing prospects of a Kremlin accord with the Vatican—all point to a post-war world in which Russia will be a respected status quo power, and no longer the Typhoid Mary among the nations.

*

THE JAPANESE DRIVE IN CENTRAL CHINA, which at one time appeared to offer a serious threat to Chungking, has been checked by a successful Chinese counter-offensive. With the support of American fliers, an enemy force of five divisions was routed near the eastern end of the Yangtze gorge, and it seems likely that the Japanese will be unable to hold their advance base at Ichang. Further south, where they have overrun the fertile lands bordering Tungting Lake, the situation remains obscure. This region is an important rice-growing area, and should the Japanese be able to retain their hold on it, Free China's already slim food supplies would be seriously diminished. But with the Chinese army plainly retaining its punching power, the invaders can hardly consolidate their position without strong reinforcements.

*

MR. ROOSEVELT'S NORMALLY ACUTE SENSE of public relations was certainly numbed on the day he decided to restrict press coverage of the United Nations conference on post-war food problems. It is, of course, nonsense to talk about the decision as if it were part of a sinister plot to destroy freedom of the press. In fact, it seems likely that the President's intent was to discourage the common practice at international conferences of using outside publicity as a means of exerting inside pressure—a practice facilitated by newspapermen whose intelligence and sense of responsibility is subordinated to a thirst for sensation. But whatever the motivation, the proposed ban was unwise and has not proved enforceable. Step by step the Administration has had to retreat, until the press has acquired nearly all the privileges it could reasonably ask. But while rejoicing at the victory of the press we must condemn the undignified way in which some newspapers sought to guy the conference. Claiming that they were unable to obtain any real news—a claim refuted by the excellent stories published elsewhere—their reporters burned up the wires with what *Newsweek* calls a "choice collection of trivia." This is a pretty cheap way of hitting back at the President and a poor service to the cause of freedom of the press, which, like other rights, is most easily undermined by abuse.

*

THIS DANGER IS WELL ILLUSTRATED BY THE facts which the Department of Justice has brought out in its anti-trust suit against the Associated Press. The main contention of the defendants is that any order forcing them to relinquish the restrictive covenants in their by-laws would constitute an abridgment of freedom of the press. A motion by the government asking for summary judgment in this case suggests strongly that the shoe is on the other foot, that the exclusive policy followed by the Associated Press has served to create local monopolies for its members and to hamper the growth of competing newspapers. There is no need here to recapitulate the facts developed by the government, since to a large extent the same ground was covered in two articles by Keith Hutchison in our issues of February 6 and 13. But it may be recalled that in the second of those articles the writer pointed out that if the exclusive membership contracts of the A. P. were upheld, other agencies might be compelled to give their clients similar protection from competition. The government's motion indicates that this situation has already arisen. "In either the morning or evening field, or both, in 144 cities," it declares, "a new subscriber may not receive the news services of the United Press Association unless it pays competitors already subscribing to U. P. services a substantial sum of money." The International News Service has similar contracts in force in 62 cities, and in 12 it has made exclusive contracts with newspapers. The result is that in a considerable number of places anyone wishing to start a newspaper would find himself unable to obtain the services of any of the three news agencies, without which no daily can hope to give its readers national and international coverage. Thus we see freedom of the press ceasing to be a general right and becoming a monopolized privilege.

*

"I CAME HERE," SAID THE BOLD SAILOR IN the House visitors' gallery, "to see how a democracy works and found them fighting the Civil War all over again." They took him to the guard room after his outburst before he could see that the North had won again. The passage of the Marcantonio Anti-Poll-Tax bill in

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the House last week by a vote of 265-110 is a great victory for democracy, the first to be registered in Congress in a long while. It was a victory for poor white as well as black and, if followed up, should help rid the whole country of the reactionary members sent to Congress by the poll-tax states. Proto-fascists from the North, like Hoffman of Michigan, joined Southern reactionaries in voting against the bill, while Northern Republicans like Baldwin of New York and Bender of Ohio helped lead the fight for repeal of the poll tax. A reading of the debate, and of the benighted ideas spewed up in it, is a revelation of the forces that lie in wait in this country should free government falter. Nazi Germany could hardly show more adherence to racial myths and anti-democratic conceptions than some members from our South. The best way to keep them out of the saddle is to help the masses of the South, white and black, vote them out. The next step is to fight for the bill's passage in the Senate, where lines are already forming to block it.

*

HENRY FORD USED TO REFER TO EDSEL AS "the boss," but the son was always overshadowed by the father. While he shared neither the old man's inventive genius nor his flair for publicity, he is supposed to have played an important part in the administration of the vast Ford domains. Those who knew him assert that Edsel was both more reasonable and broader in his sympathies than his father. He is credited with persuading Henry to abandon Model T, but he was not able to induce him to junk equally outdated labor policies. In that field the aging emperor has leaned heavily on his Minister of Interior and Chief of Police, Harry Bennett, who with the death of the Crown Prince is likely to become a still greater power behind the throne. In fact, he may eventually be the man to dicker with the bankers, whom Henry Ford has always hated and repelled, over the disposal of the empire. In Wall Street today its ramifications and its worth are being discussed expectantly. Ford finances have always been a closely guarded secret, but it is known that in December, 1941, the stock of the Ford Motor Company had a book value of $629,943,031. Since Edsel is believed to have owned about 40 per cent, estate and inheritance taxes, even if the real value is no greater than this figure, will amount to something like $187,000,000. The Fords are said to have accumulated large holdings of government bonds in anticipation of this liability, but as Henry is over eighty a further drain on the family resources must be anticipated. Possibly this situation will be met without turning the empire itself over to the bankers for sale to the public, but the question then arises whether Edsel's sons will be able or anxious to carry on the dynasty. Wall Street ponders these matters and waits, impersonal and deathless. It may yet have the last laugh at the defiant Henry.

Black Markets

THE black-market evil has assumed huge proportions in the United States. Officials no longer make an effort to conceal this unpalatable fact. Off the record they admit that at least 20 per cent of our meat is being sold through illegal channels. The actual proportion is probably much greater. Large black markets are also admitted to exist in butter, poultry, potatoes, and vegetables. In contrast to the situation in many other countries, and to the bootlegger era in the United States, these black markets are often difficult to recognize because they are not to be found in hole-in-the-wall shops in some dark alley but in the corner grocery, the neighborhood butcher shop, and the chain store that we have patronized for years. Probably in a majority of instances the housewife does not know when she is patronizing a black market.

But the evil is not less serious because it is so difficult to recognize. Unless held in check, these black markets can cause vital damage to the entire war effort. They are a direct threat to rationing and the whole principle of distributing the burden of war fairly. Because they are wasteful and unregulated, they can seriously curtail the total amount of food available for consumers. They have already severely dislocated the purchase of food supplies for the army and lend-lease. They are a threat to legitimate business and may seriously undermine the morale of the home front. They also cause a substantial loss in such strategic raw materials as hides, adrenalin, insulin, fertilizers, and bone meal, for the black market feeds on the big cuts of meat and throws away the rest.

While former bootleggers and underworld characters may be involved in some of these illegal operations, we shall not make much progress toward eliminating them if we regard the black market as merely the result of gangster activities. Nor is it safe to go to the other extreme and place the blame solely on faulty OPA regulations. Some black-market activity is almost inescapable wherever price-fixing and rationing exist. Every warring country in the world has its illegal market, and black bourses flourished in peace time in countries, such as Germany and Russia, where the distribution of food and consumer goods was strictly regulated.

The present widespread black-market operations in this country may be traced to three distinct causes. The first and most obvious is the failure of Congress to provide the OPA with adequate machinery for enforcing price ceilings and rationing. Cooperation by the local police and courts has been notable chiefly for its absence. In several flagrant cases in New York City, magistrates have released black-market operators with rebukes to the Mayor and the OPA for interfering with business. The second cause may be found in what is popularly regarded as OPA blundering in setting price ceilings below

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"costs of production." In any administrative price system inequities are bound to appear. If ceilings are constantly adjusted to rising costs, a creeping inflation develops which threatens the entire stabilization program. If such adjustments are not made, supplies are lost to the black market. The President's recent hold-the-line price order represented a conscious choice between these two evils; it was a choice that increased the threat of black markets. The third and probably the most powerful factor making for the evasion of OPA price ceilings and rationing regulations is the failure of Congress to raise taxes sufficiently to mop up the fifty or sixty billion dollars' worth of excess buying power in the pockets of the American people. The existence of this huge reservoir of money at a moment when food and consumer goods are scarce creates a tremendous incentive to illegal dealings.

We may assume that a vast majority of the American people would like to rid themselves of this loathsome parasite that has fastened itself on legitimate business. But there is no clear understanding of what needs to be done. Since the causes are manifold, the attack on the black-market evil should be made simultaneously on several different fronts. Farmers and producers can help by refusing to sell except through legitimate channels, and by collecting ration stamps for all goods sold directly to retailers or consumers. They should report suspicious dealers or truckers to their local county war boards. Retailers can help by refusing to pay more than ceiling prices for products, even though this means disappointing their customers, and by insisting on getting and passing on the full quota of ration stamps for all meats and butter handled. They also should be on the watch for meat without a slaughter number and grade stamp. The chief burden of enforcement, however, rests on the consumers. As a group, and often as individuals, they have it in their power to minimize black-market dealings by carefully watching ceiling prices, by never asking a butcher or shopkeeper for goods without surrendering the proper number of ration points, by destroying all unused ration stamps, and by reporting all suspected violations to the local OPA office.

These are elementary duties of good citizenship. But it should not be supposed that their fulfilment alone will drive out the illegal markets. The other basic causes must be similarly attacked. The OPA must keep closer to market realities in establishing ceiling prices. Judicious use of subsidies will prove a far more effective weapon against illegal operations than fines and threats of jail sentences. It is even more important to attack the tax problem. Congress's action in remitting 75 per cent of the 1942 income tax has released a very considerable volume of excess buying power. A way must be found to reabsorb this and a large part of the remaining surplus if any substantial progress is to be made against the black market.

A Program of Inaction

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE weeks following the end of the Bermuda conference on refugee problems have brought nothing but a series of excuses for the failure of the British and American governments to do anything effective to rescue the victims of Hitler's terror who still remain alive. Indeed, the conference itself seems to have been devoted almost entirely to the formulation of those excuses: You couldn't ask favors of Hitler or of any of the governments under his domination. There wasn't any available transportation even in ships coming back from the war fronts in ballast. The extermination of the Jews seemed only too likely, but still, among all the would-be refugees of Europe, how could one single out the Jews for special treatment? Then, where would they go? England had taken more than its share, and so had the rest of the empire. Palestine's gates had been closed by a White Paper. The quota system in the United States was immutable. The conferees would therefore concentrate most of their effort on the immediate problem of transferring to temporary places of settlement refugees who have succeeded in reaching neutral countries. The Nazi victims in occupied Europe would have to wait for an Allied victory. Wait—above the earth or under it.

What little has happened in recent weeks confirms the negative impression made by the conference. A Parliamentary debate on the results of the Bermuda meeting brought statements from both Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, and Osbert Peake, Under Secretary for the Home Office, agreeing that nothing much could be done for victims of fascist persecution until the war was won. At the same time the State Department announced that "a first contingent of refugees from a neutral country has been transferred to a temporary haven," but reiterated that "no negotiations with Hitler could be undertaken for the rescue of potential refugees from Nazi-occupied territory, since his entire record has left no doubt that he would only agree to such solutions as would be of direct aid to the Axis war aims."

The British and American governments are doubtless animated by both altruistic and interested motives in moving refugees from overcrowded neutral countries to settlements elsewhere, properly supervised and perhaps financed through some intergovernmental body. Such a project has the virtue of helping the refugees and at the same time relieving the pressure of unwelcome thousands on the gates of the United States and Britain—and Palestine. But the rescue of people who have already rescued themselves is at best a rather minor and tangential operation. The real job is a different one, and not all the alibis cooked up in a hundred conferences will justify its neglect.

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We should examine the excuses formulated in Bermuda and decide for ourselves whether or not they are sufficient to justify inaction. Certainly it is unlikely that Hitler would yield to any pleas for the release of Jews now under his direct control. But since, in the past, he has been interested in getting rid of Jews and has not always insisted upon slaughtering them, it is barely possible that he might agree to an exodus from the ghettoes of Poland arranged through neutral intermediaries. It is not likely, but it is possible.

But assuming Hitler refused to relinquish his prey, there is still a definite chance that some of the lesser Axis governments might agree to do so. Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania might well choose to dispose of a troublesome problem and at the same time curry favor with the powers that now appear the probable winners. If these Axis satellites would release the Jews within their borders, many hundreds of thousands could be saved.

But how could these hordes be transported? And where could they go? If Britain would ease the restrictions on immigration into Palestine, refugees admitted there could travel overland. This most desired of all solutions has been flatly refused. Not even to save lives will Britain go beyond the quotas established in 1939. Palestine ruled out, it still might be possible to establish settlements, temporary at least, in other parts of the Near and Middle East and in North Africa. Ships carrying war supplies to the Mediterranean could bring refugees back to Britain or the United States.

But this suggestion collides with one of the chief obstacles to a solution—the reluctance of Britain and the United States to admit more refugees. Britain has been far more generous in this matter than we have. The United States has multiplied the complications involved in getting a visa to such a degree that only a fraction of the existing quotas from Nazi-occupied countries are being filled. Without changing the law in any particular we could take in more than 140,000 refugees immediately. And today they could be used to help overcome our growing shortage of industrial man-power.

As for the difficulty, stressed both here and in London, of singling out the Jews for rescue and ignoring the 120,000,000 people who, according to Mr. Peake, would escape from enemy-occupied territories if they could, this is one of those stumbling-blocks set up to serve as an excuse for inaction. Whole populations neither can nor want to escape, however much they may hate the tyrant. The Jews alone represent a group detached by force from their homes and occupations, segregated physically as well as socially, marked as a whole for annihilation. It is disingenuous to pretend that because the entire population of occupied Europe cannot be evacuated, no effort should be made to save any special group.

The difficulties raised at the Bermuda conference are real. But they afford no valid excuse for a policy of sitting back and doing nothing. The process of extermination may be complete long before victory is won. The only hope lies in acting now. A determined effort should be made to carry out at least a limited program of rescue. Even the attempt would bring hope and comfort to the desperate millions marked for slaughter.

Open Letter to Winston Churchill

DEAR SIR: May I, with all respect, address you briefly on the subject of India?

You, Lord Halifax, and Mr. Amery have stated publicly that the British government's proposal carried to India by Sir Stafford Cripps in March, 1942, still stands. Now all Indian parties, including the Congress Party, the Moslem League, and the Hindu Mahasabha, rejected the Cripps offer. When you say that an offer stands after all parties to whom it was made have rejected it, does not that mean that you propose to do nothing about a settlement in India?

You could reply that the Indian parties may have changed their minds. Then should you not ask them? More than a year has passed since the Cripps offer was rejected. Perhaps the parties *have* changed their minds. Why not find out?

Gandhi, Nehru, and the other leaders of the Congress Party, to be sure, are in jail. I, of course, would like to see them released, especially after Sir Maurice Gwyer, the British Chief Justice of India, ruled that they had been illegally arrested. But if Britain insists on their continued imprisonment, the Congress Working Committee could be consulted in jail. Why not do that? The British government has negotiated with imprisoned Indian leaders in the past.

I have one more question. All your public utterances, Sir, are heard and read with much interest by countless Americans. The American public was greatly impressed with your declaration in London, on November 10, 1942, "We mean to hold our own." You added, "I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire." If the British continue to hold India, the empire will not be liquidated. But if you go on holding India, how can India become independent? Is there not a sharp contradiction between the Cripps offer of independence to India and your subsequent statement that you propose to hold India? This discrepancy might incline some persons to conclude that your government did not intend the Cripps offer to lead to Indian independence.

Very sincerely yours,

LOUIS FISCHER

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Enter the New OWM

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 28

THE oddest thing about the new Office of War Mobilization is that it is to be headed by the man who has been doing his best to keep Congress from passing the Pepper-Kilgore-Tolan bill for—an Office of War Mobilization. It was James F. Byrnes who, last February, organized Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats to take the bill from the Senate Labor and Education Committee, which was friendly to it, and inter it in the hostile Senate Military Affairs Committee.

The bill was transferred to the Military Affairs Committee in the hope of killing it, and the debate, which took place on February 4, was a bitter one. The vote was thirty-nine to twenty-eight, and the line-up was significant. For in it, as in the "beat Japan first" debate, one found the military bureaucracy lined up with reactionaries, America Firsters, and worse, against the New Dealers in the Senate. The unspeakable Reynolds, who is still chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, "Happy" Chandler, Tydings, Wheeler, Walsh, Byrd, and Clark of Missouri were among those who fought to take the bill from the progressive Labor and Education Committee.

The Administration, through its Senate leader, Barkley, and its "assistant President," Byrnes, was in the position of fighting those men who have been most loyal to the New Deal—Pepper, Thomas of Utah, Truman, Kilgore, Bone, Murray, La Follette, and Ellender. With the progressives in their fight to save the bill were not only such liberal Republicans as Brewster but others as far right as Taft and Vandenberg. Lodge of Massachusetts later told a closed session of the Senate Military Affairs Committee that certain high army and navy officials asked him to help transfer the bill to that committee so it could be kept from a vote on the floor. Afterward, Thomas of Utah was explosive in his comment.

That executive session and its revelations added to the protest and disgust among the New Dealers. Thomas, as true and devoted a progressive as the American people have in Washington, is not only chairman of the Labor and Education Committee but ranking member of the Military Affairs Committee. His anger bore fruit in the appointment of Kilgore to head the subcommittee in charge of the bill, and the composition of this subcommittee was such as to defeat the purpose of the transfer. The Kilgore subcommittee on May 12 turned in as favorable a report on the bill as could have been expected from the Labor and Education Committee. It declared the establishment of an Office of War Mobilization with a War Mobilization Board "urgently necessary" if we were to meet our production goals this year. This report, coming after the unseemly and inconclusive dispute between Rubber Director Jeffers and Under Secretary of War Patterson over the rubber and aviation-gas programs, led publications as conservative as the New York *Times* to join the committee in suggesting the creation of "some central all-powerful agency . . . to do away with conflicts incompatible with total war."

In the Senate itself the revised "Pepper-Kilgore-Tolan" bill won the sponsorship of a powerful bipartisan bloc made up of Pepper, Murray, Ball, Capper, Green, Johnson of Colorado, La Follette, and Thomas of Utah. The hearings and debates on the Maloney bill for a separate civilian-supply agency helped the drive for a new and more comprehensive set-up by dramatizing the weaknesses of the old in a crucial sector of our war economy. The War and Navy departments, ever jealous of civilian encroachment and ever unwilling to see their activities meshed with other war agencies, began to feel that only desperate remedies could prevent passage of the bill. The strategy decided upon seems to have been the establishment by executive decree of an agency which would bear the same name—the Office of War Mobilization—as that desired by Congress but would be so set up and manned as to leave the military-naval bureaucracy to go on pretty much as before.

The logical army-navy candidate for the job of running that agency was Byrnes. His conception of how to run the war effort is not so much through organization and planning as through the process of "umpiring" recurrent disputes between uncoordinated agencies. The Truman, Tolan, Pepper, and Kilgore committees have amply demonstrated the weakness of this approach in their various reports, but it suits the purposes of the War and Navy departments, which like that form of organization best which interferes with them least. Unfortunately, a total effort cannot be obtained in this way, for a total effort requires the careful balancing of all factors —man-power, production, rationing, wages, prices— which enter into the efficient operation of a war economy.

It is too early to judge the efficacy of the new Office of War Mobilization, but its political genealogy, as mapped here, makes one dubious. Doubt turns to dissatisfaction when one comes to consider the executive order setting up the new office. For this order, while broad, is also vague, and contains a number of loopholes. The War Mobilization Committee, which will run the "Office," is to consist of Byrnes, Stimson, Knox, Hopkins, and

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Judge Fred M. Vinson, the new Director of Economic Stabilization. Vinson is as conservative in outlook as his fellow Southern Democrat, Byrnes. Hopkins has from the beginning of his ascendancy in the Administration been an advocate of "appeasing" business, and most business men, like most of the procurement officers in the War and Navy departments, prefer a form of supervision which interferes as little as possible with the customary ways of placing contracts and doing business. Needless to say, these "customary practices and relationships" of a peace-time economy, as the recent Kilgore report pointed out, are not the way to get an all-out effort in war.

The make-up of the committee, as well as the vague executive order, points in the direction of an "umpiring" and consultative body, and though this is indeed a step in advance of the present system, it is not enough in advance to meet our needs. The executive order fails to gear several production factors directly into the new committee. Man-power is not represented at the top, and prices, wages, and food seem to be left autonomous.

Congress can best serve the nation's interests by passing the Kilgore-Pepper-Tolan bill as originally planned. A large vote for it will at least serve to push this new agency farther toward the kind of coordinated and planned program we need. Now, as in the past, the tendency—though with not a few honorable exceptions—both of the business men in army-navy procurement uniforms and of those on the dollar-a-year pay roll is to reduce our production goals rather than make the extraordinary efforts necessary to attain them. They would rather produce less than disturb their ordinary commercial practices and relationships. Under cover of the ballyhoo headlines our production goals have constantly been revised downward in response to this undertow of lethargy. This year's goal, originally set for $75,000,000,000, has been reduced to $63,000,000,000 and will be reduced farther if we can get nothing better than this phony Office of War Mobilization. The fight for a centrally directed war effort is a fight to save lives and shorten the war. This clever maneuver must not bring that struggle to an end.

Sweden and the Russian Bogy

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Stockholm, May 25, by Cable

A SENSATION was caused in the Grand Hotel here a few days ago when I walked through the lobby carrying a Russian flag. It was to decorate the table where English journalists were dining with their Soviet colleagues. The sight of the gold hammer and sickle on a red field made many nervous hearts beat faster, for the Swedes suffer from the Russian-bogyman complex. The dissolution of the Comintern has soothed them, but anxiety about Russia is due not only to bolshevism but to historic hatreds and to nightmare fears that Russia wants a piece of Swedish territory for a through route to Narvik. The Swedes shuddered almost as violently at the Czar's double-eagle standard in the old days as they react now to the red ensign. The prospect that Finland will be conquered and that Sweden will again have Russia for a next-door neighbor is an uncomfortable one.

The struggle toward a decision whether to try to get along with Russia or to follow a course based on mistrust of it affects all classes and all activities, even in the midst of war. Swedish peasant mothers frighten their babies with stories about bad "Ryskies," and even liberal thinkers, like Bertil Ohlin, the well-known economist of Stockholm University, favor the maintenance of a strong post-war army to protect the country from the unpredictable bear to the east. The government, however, has embarked on a policy of forming close commercial ties with Russia. This policy was implemented by a trade treaty in 1941, and further developments are expected after the war. Cautious Christian Günther, the Foreign Minister whose negotiations to keep Sweden out of war have led some to accuse him of being friendly to Germany, holds that Swedish fear of Russia has no solid basis.

The government's pro-Russian policy has been carried out under Per Albin Hansson, Social Democrat and Premier of a coalition government since 1939. A strange opposition to him has developed in the Kooperativa Forbundet, the great Swedish consumers' wholesale buying organization, which suspects he wishes to introduce state capitalism on the Russian model. The government is now operating rayon and match factories in competition with private enterprise; it owns copper mines; and it has nationalized most of the railroads. The Kooperativa's president, Albin Johansson, complains that private industry does not oppose the trend toward state capitalism with sufficient vigor, and, indeed, it is a queer feature of Swedish opinion today that private industry is the chief friend of the Hannson-Günther Russian policy. Einer Magnusson, sales manager of the Sandvik Steel Works, which makes fine steel for Swiss watch springs and for razor blades, told me that he expects Russia to become a great market for Swedish goods when the war is over. The 1941 trade agreement between Russia and Sweden provides for Swedish sales amount-

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ing to 200,000,000 kronor annually. The bourgeois Mr. Magnusson, who has made sixteen trips to Moscow, sees Russia as a potential sellers' paradise. He thinks, too, that there will be opportunities to internationalize industry by licensing Swedish patents for Russian use.

War-time industrial expansion, which has boomed the business of such world-famous concerns as SKF and Bofors, threatens to burden Sweden with an unbalanced economy after the war and with great unemployment unless extensive markets can be found to absorb the materials now used at home. In order to survive in this fortress continent, Sweden has had to become almost self-sustaining. It questions whether after the war Britain will buy such large quantities of goods as formerly, and it fears that a reconstructed Germany will be a minor market, although the pre-war Reich was Sweden's best customer. So the hopes of Swedish business men rest on Russia, which is already, by devious channels, receiving goods from the Sandviken and other factories. Sandviken maintains a trader's neutrality, selling to both Germany and the Allies, and it recently opened a factory in Milan.

Although a near neighbor of Russia, Sweden bought little from it in the past. Now the Swedes look forward to obtaining Russian hides, oil, and other raw materials. Popular education in regard to Russia is needed, however, to improve relations; a hopeful travel magazine, *Fritiden,* features in its current number a sixteen-page article on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Swedes are quick to point out places where Russian marauders struck at their coasts time after time more than a century ago, forgetting that Charles XII of Sweden overran Russia.

One reason for the prosperous state of Sweden's war-time industry is the astounding technological ingenuity that has flowered here while the country has been an oasis of peace in a warring continent. The Swedes have learned to make the most of their raw materials, especially of their forests. Much of the country is covered by a blanket of pine, spruce, birch, and oak, and the wood is proving its salvation in these hard days. Sweden used to import much of the feed for its cows. When war cut off supplies, Swedish cellulose manufacturers found nutritive elements in wood pulp, and now cattle are fed shredded cellulose enriched with phosphate and magnesium salts and made tasty with molasses. Wood also provides fuel for Sweden's automobiles, which get eighty miles from one sack of charcoal dumped into the gas-making machines they carry behind them. Sweden's iron foundries too now run on charcoal, since supplies of coal, obtainable only from Germany, have been cut in half. Tar from forest stumps is the basis of lubricating oil, which can no longer be obtained in adequate quantities from abroad. Swedish turpentine is in great demand because it can be used as a flotation oil in the refining of copper ores. Formerly American pine oil exclusively was used for this purpose.

Before the war Sweden produced 9,000 tons of copper annually; now it is producing 18,000. Huge mines have been opened in the mountains of the far north along the banks of the Skellefteo River, where at Boliden and Kristenberg the traveler finds a new frontier slowly developing. The Boliden mine produces copper, gold, zinc, and more arsenic than any other mine in the world. The problem is to discover new uses for this dangerous poison, which at present is being stored unrefined. Boliden chemists since the war started have developed a non-poisonous zinc-arsenic spray for fruit trees which is being used in many Swedish orchards, especially the great Ramlosa plantation in the south. After the war the Boliden company hopes to sell to the world its wood-preserving arsenic salt, with which it believes it can make timber termite-proof. The Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin, is now testing this claim.

Neutrality has been the mother of Swedish invention. Isolation has stimulated manufacturers, but industry will retain its fat only if Sweden can again become an international trader when the fighting ends. Occasionally Swedes ask themselves: Will countries which have fought through hell welcome economic cooperation with a land which managed to avoid battle? The Swedes are predominantly pro-Ally, but officials give no sign that they understand the implications of the struggle going on around them. "A war of the great powers," Christian Günther calls it.

The majority of the Swedes I have talked to during my three weeks in Stockholm and on my travels up and down the country have been complacent about neutrality, and outspoken enemies of Nazism like Torgny Segerstedt, an eminent Gothenburg editor, and Carl Gerhard, the Stockholm producer of "Arsenic and Old Lace," are apparently crying in the wilderness. Still, many Swedes are ashamed that the government permits trains carrying Nazi soldiers and arms to travel across Sweden from Germany to Norway and from Finland to Norway. This transit agreement was made in the summer of 1940, and the people discovered it only accidentally, after the traffic began. At that time, Swedish soldiers, not having been informed about this concession to Germany, met a Nazi troop train with hand grenades.

During thirty years of political activity Premier Hansson has done much to improve the lot of the industrial workers, for whom he has devised a sort of Beveridge plan, although the miserable state of thousands of lumbermen has been largely ignored. Now, however, he is old and not susceptible to new ideas. One reason for Socialist support of economic ties with Russia is that an anti-Russian policy would entail the maintenance of a large standing army, the cost of which would reduce social-welfare services.

Isolation from the west is forcing Sweden to carry on

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a disproportionately heavy trade with Germany, which now takes 40 per cent of Swedish exports compared with 19½ per cent in 1939. Four years ago Sweden exported one-third of all its production; now it can sell abroad only one-eighth. Germany's share of that eighth provides the exchange for the coal and coke which the Swedish arms industry needs in order to prepare the country against a possible German invasion. The outlay for arms is now about one billion kronor—$250,000,000—a year, but the government has still been able to increase expenditures on social welfare from 314,181,200 kronor in 1939-40 to 459,160,000 kronor in the present year. Small farmers, formerly inarticulate and largely excluded from the well-advertised utopian aspects of Swedish life, are now organizing to get greater benefits from an open-handed government.

Economic Basis for the Peace

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

MOST Americans are prepared to help put Europe and Asia on their feet again after the war. But they think of the task as a short-time job and are frankly fearful lest our aid make it possible for European or Asiatic industry to undercut our own in the world markets. In other words, we are prepared to be altruistic, but we don't want to overdo it. Many persons still regard talk of helping other countries as misguided idealism when we have great problems to solve at home.

Actually, of course, it is common sense of the most hard-headed variety. Unless some degree of economic security can be restored throughout the world, plans to prevent World War III are only so much wishful thinking. No political formula can hope to succeed in a world plagued with poverty, unemployment, and business uncertainty. The experience of the 1930's is unmistakable on this point. It was no accident that the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, which marked the beginning of the breakdown of the world's peace machinery, came on the same day that Great Britain abandoned the gold standard. Nor did there just happen to be six million unemployed in Germany when Hitler seized power early in 1933. All these events stemmed from a common cause—the Great Depression. If we are to have any hope of outlawing aggression and building a firm international organization, we must first tackle the economic problem, and tackle it in world terms.

Hard-headed realism makes it clear also that there can be no hope for permanent prosperity in the United States while the rest of the world suffers from economic stringency. This became increasingly evident as we floundered through one domestic panacea after another during the whole of the past decade. And it is particularly true today. During the war this country has built up its steel and machine industries to far greater capacity than is justified by our own peace-time requirements. These industries can be kept busy only if they help in the reconstruction of Europe and the development of the world's backward areas. American industry and American agriculture as a whole are more dependent on foreign markets today than at any other time in our history. Thus we have everything to gain by raising the buying power of foreign peoples and everything to lose by a relapse into economic isolationism. Furthermore, a revival of financial health is dependent on the finding of new outlets for long-term investment.

Only a bold program, and a realistic one, can hope to succeed. For years every international conference has agreed on vague generalities. Dozens of pious statements have been drawn up in the past quarter-century stressing the need for (1) stabilization of currencies, (2) reduction of trade barriers, and (3) the establishment of international lending on a firm basis. But nothing has ever happened. And the reason nothing has happened is that the program has been essentially a backward-looking one. It has aimed to restore the pre-1914 world. A realistic post-war economic program will not ignore currencies, trade, or foreign loans. But it will forget 1914 and try to meet the grave problems that will beset us at the end of this war. Instead of seeking to restore a completely self-regulating, gold-standard economy, it will accept the fact that business is subject to controls in every country and provide ways of adjusting these controls in the interest of world prosperity.

Let us assume that for purely selfish reasons we want to raise living standards and increase purchasing power throughout the world. We want to enlarge the market for, say, Ford automobiles and Hollywood moving pictures. What steps should we take?

INTERNATIONAL PWA

It should be fairly clear that the devastated areas of Europe and Asia will have to be restored to full productive efficiency before the people living in them can buy much abroad. This is a long-range job and is not to be confused with the task of rehabilitation. Years will be required merely to replace the homes destroyed by bombing and shell fire. The rebuilding of factories, ware-

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houses, and commercial properties may take even longer. Furthermore, much new construction will be necessary before economic life in the war-torn areas can be put on a firm basis. The European transportation system, for example, needs a thorough overhauling. Many parts of Europe are without even the roads needed for local trade. The railway and canal system needs to be extended in many areas. If this is true of modern Europe, what of Asia? Even today the greater part of China and much of India is without roads of any description, to say nothing of railroads. In 1941 China had only 70,000 miles of motor highways and about 6,000 miles of railroads. This was one-eighth of the highway mileage and one-fortieth of the railroad mileage of the United States, which has a population less than one-third as large as China's.

Careful consideration must be given to the organization of these reconstruction projects. After the last war American bankers lent the needed capital to European governments or private firms, and this country had little to say about what was done with it. Apart from the fact that Germany used at least a portion of this money to rearm, the whole arrangement worked badly. Far too much money was lent to some countries—chiefly Germany—and too little to others. Some of it was used for constructive purposes; much was not. A great deal of the capital advanced by this country never got farther than the pockets of promoters—on both sides of the Atlantic.

To prevent this kind of international wildcatting—as disastrous on a world scale as in a local land boom—there will have to be a large measure of international supervision. This could be assured if the reconstruction program were carried out as a joint international public-works project. The labor can, and in most instances should, be provided by the country in which the work is being done. But much of the capital, equipment, and technical supervision, at least in the countries most devastated by the war, might be provided through an international agency.

The arguments for international public works as a post-war reconstruction measure are similar to, but stronger than, those for a domestic public-works program. The amount of construction needed in the devastated areas is infinitely greater than our domestic post-war requirements, while the amount of domestic capital available for the task is much smaller. Because of the disorganization of the Continent's normal economic life and the forced demobilization of Europe's huge armies, the number of jobless in need of assistance will undoubtedly be much greater than in the United States. International action is essential because many of the needed reconstruction projects cut across national boundaries. If the railway and highway construction is to be determined by the normal geographic flow of trade rather than by military considerations, for example, it must be planned and supervised by an international agency. Sanitary and health projects designed to aid in disease control should also be coordinated by an international planning board.

Furthermore, from a purely economic point of view, international public-works projects are better designed to provide purchasing power than national projects. They can and should be planned to aid the most poverty-stricken sections of Europe's and Asia's populations, thus raising purchasing power among the groups where the need for goods is greatest and the possibilities of self-help are least. These are the regions best calculated to furnish the new markets and new opportunities for investment for which industry and finance have been searching since 1929.

During the war international public works have been an everyday reality. American engineers, with American and British labor, built the big American land and sea bases in Northern Ireland. American money, American equipment, and American engineers, using Russian and Persian labor, have created a vast supply base on the Persian Gulf through which American lend-lease supplies are shipped to the Soviet Union. Similar miracles of international cooperation have occurred in Australia, North Africa, Liberia, and the British West Indies—wherever the United States has built bases during this war. In North Africa the French, British, and Americans participated in the economic arrangements essential to military operations.

Although these arrangements could hardly serve as models for peace-time cooperation, the experience thus gained should not be overlooked in planning for the post-war period. Lend-lease, for example, has been strikingly successful as a war-time device for pooling financial responsibility among the United Nations in accordance with their capacity. The lend-lease machinery should be kept for a while after the end of hostilities—at least until a permanent international financial organization can be set up.

WORLD ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

But a world economic organization of some sort is clearly going to be needed if we are really to tackle the problem of raising purchasing power and living standards on a world scale after the war. And the groundwork for that organization should be laid now. This is not such a difficult task as it may seem. The world has already successfully organized international activities of the same type on a smaller scale. The International Labor Organization and the Health and Financial Sections of the League enjoyed far more success than the League's political branches.

All sorts of schemes have been proposed for a post-war economic organization that would build on this experience. For the most part, the details are unimportant, but certain principles must constantly be kept in

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mind. If the organization is to succeed, it must undercut the kind of economic rivalries that brought chaos in the 1930's. *Political world organization can come only when a basis of common economic interest has been established.* For this reason we might begin with a plan for international supervision of such activities as are clearly of universal concern. Much of the world's rail, ship, and air transportation cuts across national lines. In the interest of efficiency such transportation ought to be placed under the supervision of an international board. We already have a high degree of cooperation among the postal services of the various nations. Why not establish one unified world postal service? More complete cooperation is clearly called for in public-health work; disease germs do not recognize national boundaries.

The world economic organization must itself be free from nationalistic pressures. This will not be hard to achieve so far as the permanent staff is concerned; the staffs of the various League agencies were, on the whole, capable and free from national bias. The problem is more serious, however, in the policy-making agencies, where there is always danger of domination by the great powers. Nationalistic pressures might be reduced if the world economic organization were made up, as was the I. L. O., of representatives not only of governments but of such groups as farmers, consumers, employers, and workers.

The responsibilities of a world economic organization would necessarily resolve themselves into the familiar tasks of currency stabilization, elimination of trade barriers, and encouragement of international lending. To accomplish these purposes, three separate agencies may be called for: (1) a Central Bank, which would have the authority to fix and maintain exchange rates between the various currencies; (2) a Trade Commission, whose duty it would be to obtain the removal of existing restrictions on international trade; (3) a Development Commission, having at its disposal funds for financing public works.

The first hint that the United Nations governments were working in this direction came early in April when both London and Washington announced plans looking toward the stabilization of world currencies. Although similar, the two suggestions have important points of difference. The British plan, prepared by J. M. Keynes, calls for a world bank or international clearing union. Control over this international agency would rest with a board of directors of from twelve to fifteen members drawn from the participating countries. This board, rather than the governments, would be responsible for fixing the value of the "bancor" (the international monetary unit) in gold and for establishing the value of each currency. It would, however, act under clearly defined rules. If a country became too heavily in debt to the international agency, the directors might require that it surrender gold, reduce its foreign investments, or cut the value of its currency. Moreover, the governing board might have the right to recommend domestic measures that would help restore a balance in the country's international transactions.

Perhaps the most significant part of the Keynes scheme is its provision of funds that might be made available for international public-works schemes. A country having a "favorable" balance of payments—such as the United States has enjoyed since World War I—would accumulate a credit balance with the international fund. These balances could be lent out by the governing board much as a bank now lends the money that is deposited with it. This would prevent credit balances from being frozen, as they have been in the past, in gold bars buried at Fort Knox.

The White plan, outlined by Secretary Morgenthau before two Senate committees on April 5, is somewhat less flexible than the Keynes plan. It provides for the setting up of an International Stabilization Fund of the United and Associated Nations of approximately $5 billion. Each country is to contribute to the stabilization fund an amount based on such factors as its holdings of gold and foreign currency, fluctuations in its balance of international payments, and its national income. The system of control is similar to that outlined by Keynes. There would be a board of directors made up of representatives from each of the participating countries. The directors would have the power, by a four-fifths vote, to determine the value of any national currency. Although they could not force governments to remove trade barriers and other nationalistic measures, they might bring pressure on an offending country, and they would have the right to prevent the adoption of new exchange restrictions of all kinds.

Although there are many differences between the two plans, they are so similar in their broad outlines that a compromise should not be difficult to contrive. Both would probably work equally well in eliminating cutthroat currency wars such as occurred at the beginning of the great depression. Either might help to flatten out the ups and downs of the business cycle. But the Keynes plan is more adjustable and more comprehensive. It is not wedded to gold and might well be operated without gold. It provides a more direct and effective control over credit than the White plan. In giving his international agency the right of investment, Keynes has greatly strengthened its powers and opened a way for financing international public works; the control of credit as well as of exchange rates should enable the fund to check depressions before they get well started. Arrangements might even be made to use the international fund as an instrument in preventing aggression. On the recommendation of an international court or executive agency, the directors of the international fund

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might hold up the account of an aggressor and provide immediate financial aid to any country threatened with attack.

FREE TRADE AND TRADE CONTROLS

The outlines of possible United Nations efforts to stimulate trade after the war are less clear. The need for reducing tariffs has been stressed at the food conference. So far, no decision has been reached between the two basically different approaches to post-war trade policy represented by Secretary Hull on the one hand and Vice-President Wallace on the other. Hull has long been an outstanding exponent of free trade, while Wallace envisions a system of post-war trade controls. The choice is the more difficult because the sincerity and good-will of both men are beyond question. Mr. Hull has literally given his life to the struggle against trade barriers. But it is clear that a realistic program calls for something beyond his reciprocal-trade agreements, valuable as they have been.

From an international point of view, the success of the reciprocal-trade policy assumes an equality of bargaining power between the countries entering into agreements. In practice, such equality rarely exists. In most of the agreements between the United States and smaller nations this country has exacted greater concessions than it has granted in return. As a creditor with a favorable balance of payments, it should have—if it expected to be repaid—made greater concessions than the debtor countries. The psychology of bargaining is all wrong for this purpose. It is doubtful whether any basic improvement in trade policy can be brought about by bargaining separately with each country. There is a better chance of obtaining general post-war economic disarmament by international agreement at the peace conference.

If Hull's reciprocal program is likely to be ineffective in the face of the harsh realities of world trade policies, Wallace's dream of trade that is regulated in the interest of the common man has its dangerous aspects. Export quotas, fixed prices, and other types of trade control are ill adapted to the requirements of a cooperative international society. The existing instruments of control are all clearly recognized weapons of economic warfare. If they are retained, they will almost certainly be used to stir up strife between nations.

But above all we must avoid a return to the economic world of 1914. Seen in retrospect, that world looks much better than it actually was. Although it is true that the gold standard of that day acted as a sort of economic stabilizer, and thus kept depressions from becoming as acute as the crisis of 1929, the position of the debtor countries was far from enviable. Economic stability was maintained because bankruptcy, unemployment, privation, and hunger were accepted as inherent in the normal manner of readjustment. That view has been rejected everywhere today. A measure of control over economic life has become imperative. But unless the disastrous consequences of nationalistic ambitions during the past twenty-five years are to be repeated, a way must be found to bring such control under international supervision.

[*This article, as well as Myths Can Wreck the Peace, which appeared in our issue of May 8, is based on a chapter of Mr. Stewart's book, "Building for Peace at Home and Abroad," to be published by Harper and Brothers. A later article will deal with the political problems of preventing World War III.*]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE GREAT EVENT of the week in Paris has been M. Thiers's speech on the treaty of commerce with England. M. Thiers is an intense protectionist, but his advocacy of the cause is marred by total ignorance of, and in fact great contempt for, political economy and political economists. Indeed, he makes a boast of not studying the works of these gentlemen.—*June 4, 1868.*

ON WEDNESDAY WEEK . . . there was debate in the Senate over the name for the new territory. Territories often keep their names when they become states, so we may be glad that "Cheyenne," to be pronounced "Shy-en," was not adopted. "Lincoln" was rejected for an obvious and, no doubt, sound reason. Apparently, nobody had a better name to offer, though there must be plenty of Indian words that could properly be used, and, for the present, the insignificant "Wyoming" is retained.—*June 11, 1868.*

THE RAILROAD CORPORATIONS are already of immense power. They own New Jersey, and . . . we cannot tell till next October whether Mr. Drew and Mr. Vanderbilt have not entered into an alliance which puts for many important purposes the whole State of New York into their hands.—*June 25, 1868.*

THE CALIFORNIAN LEGISLATURE . . . have been conveying large tracts of the [Yosemite] valley to two squatters, whose cuttings and diggings and taverns and liquors would utterly deface it, and convert it into a repulsive resort of tipplers. . . . The bill has been vetoed by the Governor and passed over his head, and now only waits the confirmation of Congress to take effect; but this, we trust, it will never receive.—*June 25, 1868.*

TO HOUSEKEEPERS! Pyle's Saleratus, Cream Tartar, and O. K. Soap are acknowledged the most efficient and economical household articles of American production. . . . Among the tens of thousands of our patrons are some of the most distinguished personages of the age, a few of whose names are as follows: . . . Hon. Cyrus W. Field, Hon. Horace Greeley . . . P. T. Barnum, Esq., editors of the *Independent*, editors of the *Evangelist*, editors of the *Christian Advocate*, editors of the *Evening Post*, editors of the *Journal of Commerce*, and hundreds too numerous to mention. All first-class grocers keep them. (ADVT.)—*June 11, 1868.*

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How Our Enemies Fight

III. GERMANY: BLITZKRIEG AND BLUNDER

BY GORDON COOPER

THE strategic advantages of the central geographic position occupied by eighteenth-century Prussia were brilliantly exploited by Frederick II during the Seven Years' War. In much the same manner that Hitler overran Poland, he launched a surprise offensive against Saxony, overwhelming it in a few weeks. Confronted then by the greatest coalition that had ever been formed in Europe, consisting of France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and many of the smaller German states, Frederick used his central position to attack his opponents one after the other in a successful effort to keep them from combining to crush him.

At the outbreak of the present war the High Command of the Third Reich enjoyed the same advantages of a central position and interior lines of communication. But the experiences of the First World War had shown that the enormous armies of the twentieth century had acquired an increased power of defense which prevented such quick decisions in battle as were achieved by Frederick. In 1917, for instance, a concentration of some seventy divisions, or about 1,200,000 men, was considered necessary to achieve a single penetration over a twenty-five-mile sector. Memories of the enormous losses haunted both victor and vanquished after the war. Verdun and Passchendaele became symbols of the superiority of the defensive.

In many countries the case was considered proved. Acceptance of such a conclusion by Germany, however, would have meant military extinction, for successful operations from a central position require that the initiative be kept by a series of offensive actions. Another fundamental principle is that such offensive actions should be undertaken in only one direction at a time, thus allowing an overwhelming concentration to be brought to bear against a detail of the opponents' forces. If the Germans could not secure a quick decision in their offensives, they would be unable to swing their concentrated power along the radii of their interior position and fall on each of their opponents in turn. Another two-front war would result, and 1918 would be repeated. The only hope of avoiding such an outcome was to evolve a tactical system that would again obtain rapid decisions.

The methods of Blitzkrieg, the German solution of the problem, are too well known to need recapitulation here. By adapting its tactical system to the internal-combustion engine, the German army visualized the possibility of repeating the decisive battles of Frederick's day. It would not have to move from tactical objective to tactical objective as in the last war. It would be able to strike directly at strategic objectives and be fairly sure of an early decision.

After studying the results of von Faupel's experiments in Spain the High Command laid its plans. It fixed in advance the point where the final European decision was to be reached and mapped the successive steps according to the best principles of strategy.

At the opening of the war the defensive force was massed behind the Westwall, a hastily conceived barrier whose strength has never been tested. The offensive force —the spearhead of Germany's striking power, comprising only seventy divisions—was hurled against Poland, and in sixteen days the Polish army was annihilated. Blitzkrieg had staged here its opening performance, but it had played to a nearly empty house. For psychological reasons the Germans did their utmost by means of cinema and press to call attention to their masterpiece. But their future victims were determined not to understand.

As the battle of the Lowlands and France began, a holding force was left in the east and the offensive spearhead turned west. Now Blitzkrieg in all its power burst upon the Western consciousness. At Eben Emael, Sedan, Dunkirk, and the Somme "the greatest army in the world" was crushed. The Stukas, the tanks, and the mobile 88's were all used with demoralizing effect. France recoiled from the mobility and fire-power of the German tactics, which proceeded from strategic success to decision. No further time or effort was wasted in occupying the whole of France. Having made sure of its western flank, though failing in a limited offensive against Britain, the German army turned east again.

The spring of 1941 would seem to have been the period of greatest theoretical danger for the Reich, for it had to contain two powerful nations, Britain and Russia, while it secured its Balkan flank. Britain, however, was being paralyzed by night bombing and submarine attacks, and Russia was immobilized in mud. Once again the triumph of mobility over terrain was illustrated in sharp outline. The Serbs, who had held out for months in World War I, were conquered in three weeks. By June the Germans could feel secure enough on all sides to wheel against their main enemy.

The campaigns in Flanders and France have been

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estimated to have engaged actually only seventy-six German divisions out of a total of over three hundred. Consider the contrast with 1918, when seventy divisions were regarded as necessary for a limited offensive on a twenty-five-mile sector; the *economy of force* achieved in the crushing of France can then be fully appreciated. No more strength was assigned to the task than was necessary, and until the attack on Russia the German army never employed more than a quarter of its strength in one operation. As for the other principles of strategy discussed in my first article, in these "preliminary" campaigns the Germans adhered faithfully to them also and thereby achieved their strategic success.

The Russian campaign, which was to be the crowning glory of German arms and the "grand finale" of the European show, failed to turn out as expected, and the reason becomes clear when we examine the war on the eastern front in the light of these same strategic principles.

Economy of Force. The highest estimate of the size of the Axis force which attacked the Soviets in June, 1941, is three hundred divisions. Hitler himself has said that the front extended for two thousand miles. This would mean an average of one division for every 6.6 miles. In the campaign in the Lowlands and France, where the front was never longer than four hundred miles, it is estimated that the Nazis used seventy-six German divisions, or one division for every 5.26 miles. It would appear, therefore, that a greater economy of force was attempted in the Russian campaign, especially as some fifty or sixty of these original divisions were not German troops but those of Axis allies. Part of Germany's failure to achieve complete success in Russia must be attributed to an underestimation of the opponents' strength.

Surprise. While the outside world was surprised by the Axis attack, it is doubtful whether the Red Army felt the full effect, for it had adopted a strategy which robbed Blitzkrieg of much of its terror. To the Dutch, with their small area of maneuver, the tactical surprise of Blitzkrieg meant strategical surprise. The Soviets, however, used the frontier area as a cushion for the German shock and thereby avoided strategical surprise.

Mobility. The *Wehrmacht* was a marvel of mobility and came very close to achieving success by faithfulness to this principle. Russian space and terrain and Russian weather, however, proved insuperable obstacles. The swamps and forests in the north made conditions less than ideal for mechanized operations. Unexpected heavy rains slowed the advance in the fall of 1941, and winter completely stopped it. The signal successes of German mobility were confined to the Ukraine and the south. Here the Soviets let the *Wehrmacht* run until it tripped itself at Stalingrad. Unable to bring up reinforcements in sufficient quantity, it was then forced to retire, leaving its rear guard to be surrounded and destroyed.

Offensive Action. Germany retained the initiative during the first six months of the campaign through the use of constant offensive action and regained it in June, 1942. German strategy, therefore, can be said to have adhered to this principle.

Concentration of Combat Power. As we have seen in the discussion of "Economy of Force," Axis concentration of combat power—the number of divisions per mile—was 27 per cent less on the Russian front than in the Belgian-French campaign. This thin disposition might have been sufficient if the Germans had been able to encircle and "blitz" the Russians, but Russian strategy avoided this by making use of Russian space. Moreover, the Russian tactics of nipping off the mechanized spearhead made it necessary for the tanks to be accompanied by infantry masses, which caused a further drain on German concentrations. Insufficient concentration of combat power was partly overcome by the smaller scope of the 1942 offensive, but later the German strategists magnified the defect by splitting their concentration and pushing two attacks simultaneously, against Stalingrad and the Caucasus. It was the first time in the war that they were guilty of such heresy, and they were punished by being forced to relinquish their hard-won gains in both sectors.

Security. Security was everywhere adequate until late in 1942. Only one strategic point in Europe, Rostov, was given up once it had been occupied by German troops. Rommel's operations in Africa kept the British occupied for a far longer time than was originally planned and may well rank with Stonewall Jackson's diversionary campaign in the Valley of Virginia. The Dieppe raid showed the strength of the security measures taken along the western coast of Europe for the protection of the Nazi rear during the Russian operations.

Cooperation. The analysis of Japan's successes in the second article of this series showed cooperation between the services to be one of the main factors. Cooperation has also been a noteworthy feature of all the German campaigns; the only signal defeat suffered by the Third Reich prior to the Battle of Russia was in the Battle of Britain, where reliance was placed entirely on the air arm. If the Russian invasion did not proceed according to plan, it was not because of any lack of cooperation. The Luftwaffe-submarine combination, according to American press reports, destroyed 50 per cent of the lease-lend convoys to Russia in the summer of 1942. Writing in *Red Star,* the official Red Army newspaper, Major Vasilov declares that the strategic massing of the German air force for the purpose of creating such complete air superiority in any given sector that the ground forces can achieve their objective is one of the main instruments of the German high command. A higher de-

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gree of cooperation between ground combat forces than had heretofore been called for was also found necessary in Russia in order to protect mobile machines against Russian anti-tank methods.

To sum up the Germans' total effort since 1939 one may say that they have accomplished every preliminary step with complete success but failed to achieve their ultimate objectives—the capture of Moscow and the annihilation of the Russian armies. That the "battle of annihilation" is the keynote of German style has long been recognized by writers on war. It has been emphasized in German military literature for centuries; Schlieffen's modern studies of the battles of Leipzig and Cannae are quoted by Tschischwitz and Braun in their works on Blitzkrieg. In their frantic efforts to achieve a similar victory over the Red Army we see revealed the errors in strategy to which their characteristic style led the Germans at Moscow and Stalingrad. The slipping, weaving Russian retreats, always eluding the German pincers, succeeded in saving the Soviet armies from the fate of the Polish and French armies.

When the Blitzkrieg failed in the hills before Moscow, German strategy was changed to suit the means instead of the means being adapted to the strategic ends. The 1942 campaign was launched not against Moscow but in the plains of southern Russia, where armor still retained an edge. There the *Wehrmacht* won a series of tactical successes that carried it to the Volga and the Caucasus. When it failed to take either Stalingrad or Baku, these preliminary successes were put in their proper perspective. The nature of the German failure was pointed out by General Chuikoff in reply to the question of an American newspaperman. Asked what tactical errors he had observed in the German campaign, the commander of the Soviet Sixty-second Army, which had successfully defended Stalingrad, replied, "The Germans made no tactical mistakes," and went on to explain that it was in the field of strategy that the Nazis had failed. Their tactical successes proved to be Pyrrhic victories leading to no strategic achievement.

Having failed to destroy the Russian army in two years of effort, having lost their domination of the Mediterranean as a result of the Allied victory in North Africa, completely encircled by their opponents and suffering under continued air assaults on their interior communication lines, the Germans now face an attack by the combined forces of their opponents. To counter it their strategy has secured for them the entire continent of Europe as an "area of maneuver" in which they can afford to trade space for time as they did after the defeat at Stalingrad. Hitler, who started out to win another Cannae, is confronted with a situation similar to that which baffled another great exponent of operations on "interior lines," Napoleon, when he found himself surrounded before the Battle of Leipzig. German studies of this battle are no less detailed than those they have made of Cannae. The analogy can hardly escape them.

[*This is the concluding article in a series on the strategic styles of our enemies.*]

In the Wind

THE WILMINGTON, N. C., *Post* offers a solution for absenteeism: "Hitler may be insane, but he has more common sense in dealing with this problem than many of our higher-ups in Washington." . . . As for the franchise, "We do not believe that every person should have a vote equal to some other person. Why should a man like Henry Ford have his vote paired against that of a guttersnipe?"

AT LAST the source of economic progress has been discovered. Gerhard Hirschfeld, research director of the Insurance Economics Society of America, reports the results of his researches in *Barron's:* "The wealth-*owning* part of our population . . . is at the same time the wealth-*producing* part. It has always been the most vital link in our economy and is responsible for the economic progress of the nation."

TIP: The *Wall Street Journal's* gossip column, "Purely Gossip," reports this item of interest to wealth-producers: "Those lampshades made of old Russian imperial bonds may soon be torn apart. They are up to 9, from last year's low of 1, as rumors spread that the U. S. S. R. is about to make a fantastic good-will gesture."

HEALTH NOTE: A refugee doctor who knew the assistant to Hitler's personal surgeon reports that the Führer underwent an operation for a polyp in the throat five years ago. The prognosis at the time was that it would recur in a malignant form in four or five years. The doctor who reports this information moved in the highest medical circles in Germany and is an entirely reliable person.

A TELEPHONE SURVEY by a radio research agency showed that 27.1 per cent of the homes called were listening to Churchill's address to Congress on May 19, an estimated 14,045,000 listeners. This compares with 27.7 per cent, an estimated 14,290,200 listeners, for Roosevelt's Congressional message on January 7. Night broadcasts have many more listeners. Roosevelt's talk to the coal miners at 10 p.m. on May 2 reached 56.7 per cent of the homes called, or some 43,761,000 listeners.

IN ITS ACCOUNT of the death of Edsel Ford, the New York *Times* explained his draft status thus: "In deference to his father's hatred of war, he threw himself wholeheartedly into war production, and he was exempted from military service as an essential production man."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A police investigation of the mysterious disappearance of a number of young Norwegian women has been stopped on orders from the Nazi authorities. . . . The Nazi mayor and aldermen of a Belgian town have been denied life insurance by Belgian and German companies.

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Communists and British Labor

BY KINGSLEY MARTIN

London, May 26, by Cable

THE B. B. C. made an amusing comment on Moscow's decision to end the Comintern when it dryly remarked that the only protesting voice so far came from the Independent Labor Party. It is a point worth explaining.

The Independent Labor Party, which is no longer an important political force in England, has quarreled violently with the Third International. Its complaint is certainly not in support of the Comintern. It is a rebuke to Stalin for Soviet nationalism, which repudiated the conception of world revolution. For many years Stalin has seemed to be moving toward this view. Stages in his metamorphosis were his defeat of Trotsky and his execution of the Five-Year plans, which accomplished an extraordinary feat in making the U. S. S. R. strong enough to fight Germany without making it dependent upon foreign capitalism. Then came the attempt to save peace and gain security for the U. S. S. R. through collaboration with the bourgeois governments at Geneva, another sign of Moscow's nationalist rather than world-revolutionary view. Only in Spain has the Comintern had a real chance since the early post-World War period. In China the Comintern was defeated, and in Germany its errors were partly responsible for Hitler's triumph. Recently the Comintern has been maintained as a reserve weapon to be used only if the democracies became open enemies of the U. S. S. R. Now Stalin smooths the path for an alliance with America and Britain by formally liquidating the conspiratorial side of communism, which has been useful to reactionary politicians in Britain and, above all, in America.

On the international side, therefore, almost everyone is pleased. As a propaganda move, nothing could be better, because the basis of the Axis is the Anti-Comintern Pact. It is often forgotten that Germany's satellites—Italy, Hungary, Rumania, and others—are tied to Germany only by adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact. Now that Stalin has ended the Communist International he should be in a stronger position to ask the liquidation of all that remains of the Fascist International. This is even more necessary since there is still a tendency on both sides of the Atlantic to build up as the heads of liberated states individuals who would normally work more easily with the Anti-Comintern Pact than with Soviet Russia. On the continent of Europe, where the division between Communists and other forces of resistance has largely disappeared, the formal end of the Comintern should make real unity for the future much easier.

The question for Britain is whether the left can use the opportunity to achieve greater unity. The Labor Party, at the Whitsuntide conference, has as the chief item on its agenda the question of Communist affiliation. Because of its connection with Moscow and its consequent policies and divided loyalty, the Communist Party of Great Britain has long been disaffiliated. Now it supports the war, and there is an important drive by Communists throughout the country to come into the fold. Owing to the method whereby trade unions instruct delegates how to vote at the conference, it is possible to forecast the vote beforehand with some accuracy. It looked last week as though the move for affiliation would be defeated by a substantial majority. The principal argument of the Executive in its correspondence with the Communist Party and in many pamphlets and leaflets is that it is impossible for the Communist Party to be loyal to the Labor Party because of its constitutional allegiance to Moscow decisions. Its change of attitude toward the war in October, 1939, and its anti-war policy until 1941 are added points in the argument of the Executive. Now that this particular argument has been removed, many hope that affiliation may after all carry the day. The Executive might at least offer to meet representatives of the Communist Party to discuss whether, under the new circumstances, they could rely on Communist Party loyalty. These matters will be discussed by the Labor Party Executive on May 28.

Statements made by the *Daily Herald* and orthodox trade-union leaders suggest that it will be difficult to persuade Transport House to change its mind. Labor leaders may argue that Communist policy will still follow Moscow blindly and, from past experience, that Communists aiming at revolution cannot be trusted colleagues for Socialists who hold a gradualist philosophy. The *Herald* argues that it would be logical for the Communist Party to dissolve and for its members to join the Labor Party as individuals. This argument would apply to all constituent bodies of the Labor Party, and is important, not for its logic, but because it is an indication of reluctance once again to begin the struggle with organized communism within the party.

One other viewpoint is strongly expressed. In many minds the overriding consideration is the fear that the

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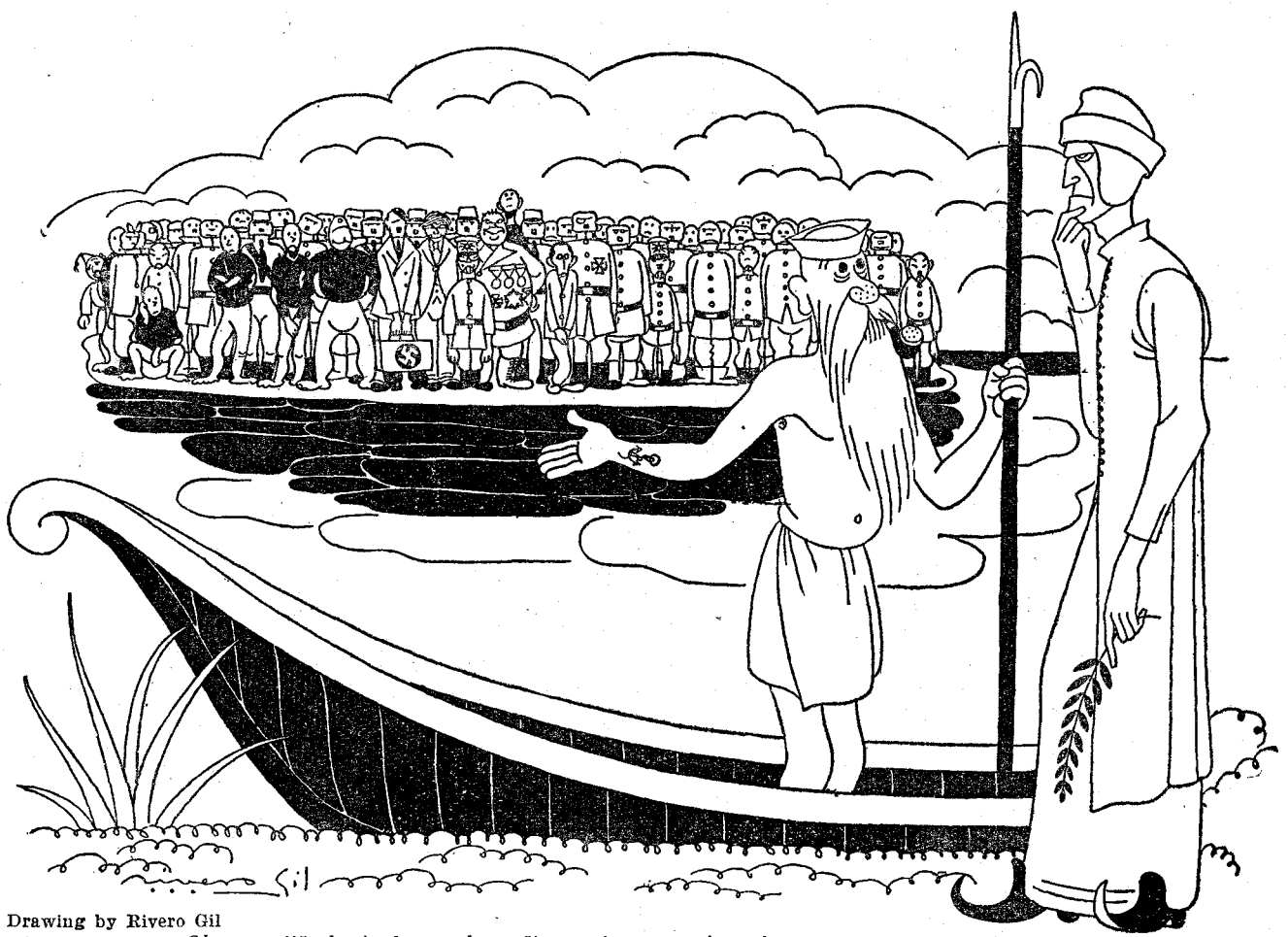
working-class movement will again split into warring fragments, making victory easy for the reactionary forces, who will regain power as they did at the end of the last war when they defeated all hopes for post-war improvement. I have heard the view expressed by a distinguished figure in the Second International that nothing would so encourage the forces of progress throughout Europe and the world as unity within British labor. Though memories of past bitterness would make collaboration between most of the present Labor and Communist leaders difficult, there are large numbers of younger men and women, in the ranks of both labor and communism, who will insist on unity, one way or another. Stalin follows Lenin in telling the Communist Party to think out socialism in relation to particular British traditions. That must mean that it would abandon its conspiratorial attitude, a natural inheritance of the Third International, born of the revolution in czarist Russia, where liberalism had never taken root and freedom of speech and the right of association never existed. The tactics to be applied in the Western democracies ought to be founded upon a recognition of their strong moral and humanitarian tradition. And so we hope that at Whitsuntide, at any rate in the country where Socialists and Communists must necessarily work together during the war, unity based on a new realism and a new determination to achieve socialism may be realized.

De Gaulle—Giraud

DE GAULLE and Giraud—all right. But Giraud and De Gaulle—disaster for French democracy.

The issue is not unity alone. Unity was certain, once arrangements for the meeting in Algiers were confirmed. Unity was a fact when the British and American general staffs realized that they could never land in France with a divided North Africa. Once the realization came, action was simple. The British became less ardent in their support of De Gaulle; the Americans allowed Giraud to feel that their support of him was not unconditional. The two generals had no choice. For an eternally divided North Africa invited eternal occupation.

But it is to the greatest interest of the democratic cause that within the formal unity to be established De Gaulle should hold the real leadership. Everything speaks for it. Behind De Gaulle is the new "Council of Resistance," uniting all the anti-Vichy forces in France. Behind Giraud is M. Boisson, who declared, even on March 30, 1943, that West Africa should remain faithful to Marshal Pétain. Behind Giraud is René Prioux, general of the French armies in North Africa, who, even on March 27, 1943, was addressing his officers as follows: "The difference between Vichy and the Marshal is evident. General Giraud has always kept this difference in mind. Lately



Drawing by Rivero Gil

Charon: "I don't know how I'm going to solve the transportation problem."

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he declared that no one may attack Pétain, while everyone must attack Vichy." Always the same tactic of indirectly asking for support of Pétain while laying all the blame, in the classic military tradition, upon the civilians.

And it is not only M. Boisson, General Prioux, General Noguès, or M. Peyrouton who can never be "united" with the people of France. Hundreds and hundreds of minor officials, appointed and kept in office by former Vichyites who under General Giraud are running the military and civil administration in North Africa, will always remain a threat to French democracy. They were fascist-minded before the outbreak of the war; they were fascist during the war; they will continue to intrigue and to work against democracy if a "non-political" general like Giraud continues to protect them. Only if the influence and the authority of a truly "political" general like De Gaulle, backed by all the forces of resistance in France, are fully exercised in the new council created in Algiers can the French people have a guaranty that they will not be stabbed in the back from North Africa.

Unity, yes. But under De Gaulle. A. DEL V.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

KONSTANZ is an old and very beautiful German city. On May 18 the St. Galle *Tageblatt,* the newspaper of a nearby Swiss town, described the daily life in Konstanz. "Beautiful Konstanz," it said, "is steeped in gloom, and people have little hope of a better future." One reason is that the local grenadier regiment was destroyed to the last man before Stalingrad. Another is the so-called "total mobilization." "The order closing all retail stores swept over Konstanz like a tempest. Only a few shops remain open." A third cause of the gloom is the scarcity of goods, which "has reached grotesque proportions." Some fantastic happenings will illustrate. "A man climbed into a ground-floor apartment in Konstanz and stole the blanket from the bed of a sleeping child. A working woman lured an eight-year-old girl into a house and robbed her of her shoes."

But the most revealing thing is a placard headed *Verboten* which is displayed in all the stores. It warns customers that "conversation in the shops must be limited to the Hitler salute and the remarks required by the transaction." This prohibition of all conversation is for the Swiss newspaper proof of "rising irritation."

In the middle of May, for the first time under Hitler, a professor in a German university was condemned to have his head cut off. His name was Kurt Huber, and he was fifty years old. For seventeen years he had taught psychology at the University of Munich. He had never, so far as is known, had anything to do with politics.

The execution of Professor Huber was the climax of a series of happenings at the University of Munich about which vague reports have already reached America. Since it is possible that this is a development of great significance, we welcome the discovery of a somewhat more detailed account in the Swedish newspaper *Trotts Alt.*

In Easter week a high party official addressed the students of both sexes at the university. With customary Nazi arrogance he made remarks about the superiority of men and the inferiority of women. He seems also to have used insulting and dirty expressions. Whereupon the unheard of happened: the masculine listeners, not the feminine, exploded. The students began to stamp their feet—the traditional way of expressing disapproval in German universities—and to call out "Enough." Soon the more spirited members of the audience began to leave the hall, and the meeting ended in chaos.

The next day some students distributed a typewritten leaflet in the university buildings. It was an attack on the Nazi Party, which they accused of "crippling the student's intellect in the most important period of his development." It demanded that students stay away from assemblies at which "party satraps" and "party satellites" spoke. One of its distributors was a student who had lost a leg at Stalingrad and who wore the highest decoration a soldier can receive—the iron cross, first class.

The university was in an uproar. The police and the Gestapo moved in and made some twenty arrests. Among those arrested were the cripple of Stalingrad and—some days later—Professor Huber and his wife. It is not known just how Huber was connected with the outbreak at the meeting or with the leaflet, but it is known that he was brought before Herr Giesler, the Gauleiter of Munich, and that there was a violent scene between them. The Special Court for the Protection of State and Party then held numerous secret trials—all separate. The younger students were sentenced to imprisonment for many years or for life, but ten of the older ones, among them the cripple of Stalingrad and Professor Huber, were condemned to be beheaded.

Two other things should be mentioned. The first is Gauleiter Giesler's statement to the leaders of the National Socialist Women's Organization, whom he called together to give them directions about the girl students. He said: "Unfortunately our attention has just been drawn to the university, and unfortunately we have seized only one professor. But we know that at least twenty more of his kind are hiding there." The second is this: Because of some connection with the Munich affair a high official in the nearby city of Salzburg was arrested—a nobleman and a *Regierungsdirektor,* Dr. Hans von Rittinger. He was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment because of a "hostile attitude toward the state and party." The official announcement said that his "frivolity" during the trial had been particularly repulsive.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Mother and Son

THOMAS WOLFE'S LETTERS TO HIS MOTHER, JULIA ELIZABETH WOLFE. Edited with an Introduction by John Skally Terry. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

THE letters of a genius are always interesting even when they are dull, and these letters of Wolfe, like his books, are dull. Every other letter seems to be about money and how it gets that way. And when finally money does begin to flow his way, then come the lawsuits. Poor Wolfe discovers that even a halfwit has the right, in a democracy, to sue you, bleed you, though he hasn't a leg to stand on. In the course of a short life Wolfe seems to have discovered many things which the ordinary schoolboy knows instinctively. One of the most amusing statements is the one concerning Professor Baker of Harvard. "I think he's bitterly disappointed because I began teaching, but he never told me by what means I could live." Aye, there's the rub. And there is something pathetic about the inability of editors and publishers, in a land that worships money, power, fame, and success, to keep alive a man of genius whose needs are few. To receive $250 for something like 30,000 words is the sort of encouragement which makes a writer wonder if he wouldn't be better off digging ditches or robbing banks.

There is also something amusing and pathetic about the valiant and, to my mind, misguided efforts of the good Max Perkins to whip the amorphous volume of Wolfe's writings into some acceptable form. The only book of Wolfe's I could ever finish was the little volume called "The Story of a Novel." I was violently moved by this account and convinced, moreover, that a crime had been committed against Wolfe by the very man who tried to help him. It is quite possible, to be sure, that without editorial assistance Wolfe might never have brought any of his books to a conclusion. But would that have mattered? Just as his mother tried to keep him a child, so his publishers tried to keep him readable. A child who is weaned at the age of three and a half is never weaned; a boy who is kept in curls until he is a young man never becomes a young man; a giant who sleeps with his mother until it is time to find a mate never finds a mate. And a young genius who begins like a Niagara can never be made into an acceptable wooden novelist such as publishers are constantly looking for. Left to his own resources, encouraged to do as he pleased, Thomas Wolfe might have committed suicide at an early age, leaving to posterity a grandiose unfinished opus which would have been the pride of American letters.

The saddest thing about Wolfe is the feeling he gives of being alone in the world. And though he was always tied to his mother by the umbilical cord, he gives the impression frequently that he had been abandoned even by her. In trying to tell her what his first novel is about, he writes: "It says that we are born alone—all of us who ever lived or will live—that we live alone, and die alone, and that we are strangers to one another, and never come to know one another." Quite naturally this feeling was accompanied by a mania to devour the world; it was the only means left him to connect with the world. Instead of incorporating the world, however, he dies of glut. In this he reminds one of Balzac. The pattern of his life is that of the treadmill. He becomes a victim of work. No death, no phoenix rising from the ashes. Just a huge machine waging a hopeless battle with time.

His malady was gigantism, in all its manifestations. His tentacles spread everywhere, but they never light upon the golden shears which will liberate him and give him atonement. He is a river with a blind mouth, a moving panorama which erases itself with every turn of the bend. He will remember everything from the day he was born, and record it with the exactitude of a physicist, but though he labor like a fiend he will never succeed in laying the cornerstone of the temple he longs to inhabit. He remains the infant Gargantua, stumbling through the world nursery and scattering débris everywhere. An utterly humorless prodigy to boot. Alone, misshapen, misunderstood. A misfit. A giant for whom a toothache assumes the proportions of a tragedy: something to write home about, something to wrest a tear from that monument to real estate who could have been a writer too—if she had had the training.

His admirers are right in regarding him as a genuine American. He had all their faults and all their virtues. "I could never be anything but American if I tried," he writes. Yet again and again he expresses his disgust with "the huge, loud, noisy madhouse" that America is. And then, like all genuine Americans, he can add: "We have it in us to be a really great people, I think, whenever we find what is sometimes called a soul." In this utterance we have an intimation of the real tragedy which confronts every great American artist. For, until that soul emerges, how are we ever going to stop killing off our creative spirits? What place is there for a poet in a garden where automobile parts are at a premium? With Wolfe's death we are left with at most two or three writers of unmistakable genius. The others are the successful writers whom the mothers worship.

HENRY MILLER

The Mexican Storm

THE WIND THAT SWEPT MEXICO. 100 Pages of Text and Captions by Anita Brenner and 184 Photographs Assembled by George R. Leighton. Harper and Brothers. $3.75.

THE Mexican Revolution has been sputtering and exploding in our back yard for more than three decades. No upheaval of modern times has been continuous spot news for so long or so thoroughly covered by reporters, sociologists, artists, and photographers. Nor was there ever a more colorful, dramatic, and "photogenic" setting. Indeed, the Mexican Revolution may be said to have initiated a new period in

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modern news photography, marking the great turn from the unchanging scenes and solid celebrities posed before a tripod-supported camera in the settled world of the nineteenth century to the swift action shots of the world in motion and flux of the twentieth. "The wind that swept Mexico," in retrospect, proves to have been one of the first gusts of a tempest that since has been sweeping the earth.

It is not easy to give a satisfactory account of a world which is changing rapidly while you observe it. One needs more than fixed instants: their succession must form points on a continuously altering trajectory. In writing, this requires a grasp of origins and a sense of direction. In photographic illustration, the separate pictures must make a sequence, like stills which suggest that they are parts of a moving picture.

In this first attempt to portray the Mexican Revolution by uniting photography and text, both collaborators were admirably suited to their tasks, and the result is a perfect unity of text and illustration. Anita Brenner has been reporting on Mexico for almost as many years as are covered by these events. She has never written better, or as well. She has outgrown the sometimes annoying habit of seeking for the smart phrase without regard for its consequence to truth; yet her style has not lost its liveliness. Errors of detail are few and minor, less than in any previous book that has been written on Mexico. Interpretation, too, leaves almost nothing to be desired—perhaps a recognition that the Díaz regime was part of a larger setting of later nineteenth-century stability (in Europe, in the United States, in Latin America) and that not "cash-and-carry economy" but primitive subsistence agriculture is the shock absorber that cushions Mexico against the world's economic storms. The most remarkable quality of her hundred-page text is a clean simplicity of outline which could only have been achieved in the case of such complex events by long years of meditation.

What the complexities were which had to be reduced to simplicity without being simplified out of existence cannot be more than suggested here. Was Pancho Villa a bandit or a revolutionist? Is the government a military dictatorship? a fraternity of corrupt officials enriching themselves by private graft and public pillage? a channel through which the will of the masses can find some expression? Are the professed governmental ideals devices for manipulating the people, or do they—and to what extent?—take possession of those who profess them? Is Lombardo Toledano an agent of Stalinism, or of the government for working upon the masses, or of the masses for working upon the government? In brief space, without imbalance and without loss of concrete aliveness, Miss Brenner has managed to answer an enormous number of questions to which there are no simple yes-or-no answers.

George R. Leighton has shown no less expertness in his selection of the news photographs to complement—or be complemented by—Miss Brenner's text. In the new art of photo-illustration, as in any art, selection is a crucial matter. Leighton's job was not merely to track down and sift the mountain of amateur and professional news photographs, but to steep himself in the story he was illustrating until he could judge them for relevance, representative character, expressive quality. This telling of a continuous story from photographs is analogous to the cutting and montage in the editing of a film. It is so well done here that it is no longer possible to tell whether Miss Brenner wrote the text around the pictures or Mr. Leighton chose the pictures to suit the text.

And what pictures! The aged, stony-faced dictator, full of years and honors; the glitter of Porfirian society as only the camera can catch it—a world apparently as settled as the melancholy high plateau and snow-capped sierra that form its background. The reverse side of the Porfirian peace—beggarly Indians, newly shot corpses lying on the plaza with men and women passing unconcerned in the brilliant sunshine. Guerrilla camps scattered through the brush; armies traveling atop captured freight trains with their women, children, dogs, pots, umbrellas; naive excited peons in arms; shops being raided; Villa's "golden boys" dashing on horseback right up to the camera. The "men of the Revolution"—Madero, diminutive, weak, almost ludicrous, yet unswervingly devoted to such ideals as could move him; Villa's jovial, sensual face; the melancholy dreamer's eyes of Zapata; the pedantic self-importance of Carranza; debauchery and cruelty cut deep into the face of Huerta; bonhommerie on the round cheeks of Obregón. Ebb and flow of uncertain fortunes—Villa trying out his expansive seat on the presidential chair with the grin of a small boy while Zapata, huge hat on knee, sits bemused beside him; Carranza opening the Constitutional Convention; Carranza lying dead after assassination; the tough, corrupt, sybaritic face of Morones as official labor lieutenant; the lean, ascetic, Machiavelli-Savonarola face of his successor, Lombardo; the shining, impassive, metallic-bronze head of an archbishop under a bejeweled miter; Calles proclaiming full stop to the victorious Revolution; Cárdenas earnestly receiving a petition from dissatisfied Indians; a new concrete road through a timeless landscape; the British ambassador leaving in a huff after the oil expropriation; astonished Mexicans learning that their country has entered the war, and on the side of the traditional enemy, the Yankee.

So both text and pictures leave the Mexicans facing with puzzled attention a new and uncertain future, asking what fate awaits them alone on this continent with no rival European power to counterbalance the "Colossus of the North" turned "Good Neighbor," and what fate awaits their unfinished Revolution. The question at the end is as right as the rest of the text and pictures.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

This Paranoid Reich

IS GERMANY INCURABLE? By Richard Brickner, M.D. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.

AN INSISTENT need of our troubled times is to account for the phenomenon that has confounded the nations. The responsible "it," whatever its nature, was made in Germany. Its sources must be sought there. Political, economic, social, geographic conditions have played leading parts in the dénouement. All that is abundantly recognized. Beneath them lies a deeper level of interpretation, inevitably psychological. The phenomenal, convulsive "it" is a *collective mental aberration.* Germany is in the throes of a psychic obsession. The key clue to the most disastrous regression in the march of civilization is held by psychiatry. Upon that thesis, Dr. Brickner builds his argument and arrays his

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evidence. In that conclusion and its supreme significance the present reviewer fully concurs.

Too long have historians, statesmen, economists, militarists, and the ever articulate journalists held the field and the public ear. The claim of experts in ways of mind—psychologists and psychiatrists—to a voice in the interpretation of the doings of men recorded as history presages the verdict of the future. Nazism—ideas and behavior—belongs with such derangements as witchcraft and the Inquisition to the mass-pathology of the human mind. Had the phenomenon stopped short of war, it would still have formed a major problem for reflective minds: a global upheaval has bombed it into universal concern. Germany is psychopathic. The ideas, traits, human relations, behavior-patterns, policies dominant in Germany are in reality symptoms of grave mental disorder. Is Germany incurable? is the tense question for today and for post-war consideration.

Germany's psychosis is definitely *paranoia*—a term thus raised from medical to international consequence. "Its presence as the predominant culture trait sets the Germans apart as a special world problem among Western nations." The diagnosis is unmistakable. The passion for domination, and regulation, in matters great and small, the chronic suspiciousness, the fancied grievances, the absurd megalomania, the irresponsible logic, the blindness to others' psychology, the scrapping of inhibitions, the fanatical assumption of a mission: these make the context for the paranoid conviction that he, the paranoid, and his actions are ever right and that the rest of the world is wrong and despicable. This typically paranoid complex is certified in every psychiatric text.

Paranoid trends have entered deep and wide into the German character; have been sanctioned and rewarded. In that soil, long prepared and recently fertilized, Nazism found congenial roots and attained a rank growth. Mass delusions, however virulent, are never universal. A portion of the population remains fairly immune to the contagion, and provides the nucleus of recovery. But until the sane members in German communities can cure their fellows of their paranoid thrall, the nations united in the cause of sanity no less than of freedom must accept the warden's role of rendering the patient's delusions and impulses harmless.

Dr. Brickner's mode of presentation of his thesis and its evidence is not conducive to overcoming the resistance which it meets in lay circles. The same conclusion is more forcefully expounded by H. G. Baynes, British psychologist, in his "Germany Possessed." It is likewise the accounting of Rolfe Tell in "The Eternal Ger-Maniac," of Sebastian Haffner, of E. O. Lorimer, of Colonel Minshall (only the last is cited by Dr. Brickner), and of others.

Dr. Brickner's presentation lacks the complete demonstration of which the thesis is capable. His illustrations, medical and cultural, are none too relevant. Unaccented is the paranoid's constant recourse to lying and deception, so conspicuous in Hitler's make-up and adopted as a policy by his regime. That primary trait-symptom of the paranoid—and that is why you can't do business with him—is emphasized in the able study of the psychopathic personality by Dr. Cleckley published under the apt title "The Mask of Sanity." What baffles the layman is the fact that an ignorant, mediocre, ne'er-do-well, hopelessly insane, can attain to such a career

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in a world presumably ruled by sane men. The paranoid mask is indeed deceptive. It deceived—though that deception alone is not the full accounting—the diplomats. It did not deceive the psychiatrists, nor so keen a lay observer as Mrs. Lorimer, author of "What Germany Needs": "Hitler is not a person, but mental disease incarnate."

The astounding and appalling phenomenon presents two problems—the insane Führer and the obsessed Reich. Dr. Brickner concentrates upon the latter and all but neglects the former—a questionable tour de force. The realistic fact remains that Nazi Germany was created by the acceptance of a paranoid and the delegation to him of unlimited power. That's the "it" that can't happen here. The idolatry of the person of Adolf Hitler is not a paranoid trait; it reveals a flaw in the German character evidenced by the university students' slogan: "We spit on freedom!" There are many complications in the cure of Germany.

The psychopathic accounting of Nazism must make its way despite the prejudice against conceding a place in affairs of state and the common weal to the psychologist and the psychiatrist. Indeed, even in intelligent circles one encounters an uncritical distrust or even a cheap sneer at both as confusers of familiar common sense by technical jargon. None the less, had a competent psychiatrist accompanied Mr. Chamberlain on his mission to Munich, he would have reported to His Majesty's government that appeasing a paranoiac was putting out a fire with gasoline. Where the blind politicians discovered evidences of greatness, psychologists saw through mask and myth to the ghastly reality. "The man in the ivory tower is actually the practical man of affairs," concludes Dr. Brickner. JOSEPH JASTROW

Aesthetics as Libertarian Faith

ART AND FREEDOM. A Historical and Biographical Interpretation of the Relations Between the Ideas of Beauty, Use, and Freedom in Western Civilization from the Greeks to the Present Day. By Horace M. Kallen. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. Two Volumes. $6.50.

THESE two passionate volumes must be viewed primarily as a confession of faith. Thirty years, more or less, in the making, as our author tells us, they are packed with an enormous erudition. But they will impress you chiefly because they glow to incandescence with Mr. Kallen's unqualified belief in the individual's fundamental right to develop without outward restraints and with his conviction that art is "the bravest, the truest" way in which man can "affirm his freedom within, establish it without," and by means of which he "conquers fate and defeats God."

Indeed Mr. Kallen's passions seek such a violent affirmation that even when you sympathize with his prejudices you are likely to find yourself wondering whether you can trust the judgment of a man whose philosophizing seems to be so preponderantly determined by the need for self-assertion. You are reading for instance about Baumgarten, remembered only because he gave aesthetics its name, and you run into the following characterization: "Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, an academic packager of philosophic sedatives passed down from Leibnitz." Is this not a waste of passion? Why send out the battle wagons of invective to reduce an obscure little atoll which no one is holding against us? The explanation is perhaps to be found in Mr. Kallen's fervid dedication to liberty. And I imagine also that it is his fervid dedication that accounts for Mr. Kallen's style. If you prefer quiet, masculine prose, stripped of all adiposity, you will be irritated frequently by orchestral effects and by an undisciplined torrent of words which all too frequently interfere with the direct grasp of ideas.

Mr. Kallen relates the history of aesthetics to the history of our Western culture from the standpoint of the central anxiety of our day. He seeks to show that the various conceptions that have been held since Plato regarding art and the relation of art to use are an integral part of the human struggle for freedom. But since theory is always someone's theory, Mr. Kallen brings biographical data to bear on the interpretation. This bald statement of the content of the work cannot, however, give an idea of its scope. Mr. Kallen's historical exposition covers close to a thousand pages, and touches not only on most of the well-known figures in aesthetics but on many well-nigh unknown names as well. To realize how varied and extensive is the range of its historical reference, one must read the book from cover to cover.

Our author finds in history two conceptions of freedom in opposition to each other. One is false and makes for privilege, being really a rationalization of oppressive tendencies. The other is the true one, and it issues finally in our day in the belief in human equality characteristic of democratic societies. The interpretation is carried out in terms of a number of assumptions to which the critical reader will wish the author had given more explicit or more extended attention in these pages. I call them "assumptions" because I do not find that they were drawn from, or modified by, the inquiry, but seem rather to have controlled it from the start. The most important of these assumptions is that freedom consists of the outward expansion of the vital urges of each individual man, to check which is tyranny. This means that each man has the right to seek happiness according to his own personal idiosyncrasies. So far as I am able to discover, this right is proclaimed without reservations, and somehow, though our author absolutely hates all absolutes, he holds that "the right to be different" is an "ultimate of human personality." Another assumption seems to be that change for its own sake is a good, and stasis is evil. Still another seems to be that in the warfare to the death between freedom and tyranny ideas are weapons. Still another is that art and freedom are at bottom synonymous terms, for "whatever opens new ways to impulses held back, to wishes unsatisfied, to feelings shut in," is "art fundamentally."

The advantage of Mr. Kallen's historical interpretations cannot escape anyone. True, he gives us a rather crude version of history; but how simple it becomes, and how easy does he make it for us to take sides. The battle is between light, goodness, and truth on the one hand and darkness, evil, and error on the other. On one side—I mean, to the *left*—you have sages like John Dewey, Jefferson, or William of Occam; or poets like Byron or Shelley; or children of nature like Rousseau. And opposite them the enemies of man, the false prophets who preach otherworldly hope, the philo-

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sophical totalitarians, the anti-nominalists and absolutists. Heading them you will find men like St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and St. Ignatius, "who founded the rationalizations which the godmen and prophets of the latest dispensation, the Hitlers and Mussolinis, the Stalins and Francos, improve upon and surpass." Above them all you will find the arch-totalitarian Plato, who, according to Mr. Kallen, was senile when he wrote "The Laws."

In addition to making history easily intelligible, Mr. Kallen's method has the added advantage of enabling him to dispose of men and philosophic systems that he does not like, without the bother of too minute a logical refutation, by the simple device of exposing the motives back of the ideas. Thus of Plato we are told that "the notion of Beauty as ultimate, universal, eternal, and supernatural . . . shares with the rest of the Platonic Otherworld the service of compensating the thinker for his defeat and degradation in this Hitherworld." Or take Kant. He was deeply devoted to freedom, and translated into the conception of the kingdom of ends the revolutionary ideas of his age. But we must not be fooled by his devotion. "Compensatory to the actualities and habits of his conformed existence rather than expressive of them, the idea of freedom was nevertheless a projection and syncretic symbol of all hurt feelings, the frustrated impulses and deep resentments of his personal history."

Unfortunately the simplicity of Mr. Kallen's version of historical development becomes occasionally troubled by cases which refuse to be rammed into his categories, in spite of their accommodating roominess. This is the case, for instance, with Schopenhauer, whose philosophy was "transcendentalist but not totalitarian." The fact that there are transcendentalists who are not totalitarians and naturalists who are, must have given Mr. Kallen trouble, but I find no reflection of that trouble in these pages. Again, there are in the book several references to periods in which art, though deserving the name in its eulogistic sense, was nevertheless the willing servant of despotism. But if art is synonymous with true freedom, how can it express totalitarian interests without loss of quality? How can art survive and prosper under tyrannical rule and even seek to glorify it?

"The world," says Santayana, "is full of conscript minds, only they are in different armies, and nobody is fighting to be free, but each to make his own conscription universal."

ELISEO VIVAS

Fiction in Review

I AM struck by the naive frankness with which Jerome Weidman's "The Lights Around the Shore" (Simon and Schuster, $2.50) is being announced as Mr. Weidman's first non-hard-boiled novel. It is exactly as if an optical company were to announce its new lenses as its first lenses which enabled the wearer to see with both eyes. For to say of a novelist that he is, or was, hard-boiled is not a neutral term of description. It is an evaluation and not a flattering one. It announces of a writer that he is so handicapped that he is capable of seeing and depicting only those aspects of life which fit into a single, highly restricted line of vision.

On the other hand, Mr. Weidman's own recognition of

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his earlier limitations is something else again, and much to be commended. Indeed, the best to be said of "The Lights Around the Shore"—for it is a failure—is that it has an admirable intention and an excellent "idea." It is the story of a fifteen-year-old boy who is catapulted into maturity by the double experience of being taken out of his native environment and discovering that the aunt to whom he is deeply attached is ready to sell him out for a pretty dubious lover—a first-rate point of departure for a novel of psychological exploration. But people baffle Mr. Weidman. He intended his novel to be a mystery of the kind which so much attracted Henry James, in which the secret element is the clue element in the human compound, but what he has actually produced is a novel which is full of pointless mystery: one wonders what all the psychological shooting is for. And it seems to me that his failure casts a revealing light on his earlier successful novels.

Take, for instance, Mr. Weidman's adolescent boy, his central character. Peter Landor is of Hungarian parentage, not Jewish, semi-proletarian. His aunt has been in America only a few years; she earned the money for their trip to Europe by working in a factory; the suitor whom she leaves behind is the proprietor of a candy store. All these facts are told us and even have their place in the narrative, but they are never *shown* to us. Peter's origins play no slightest part in the characterization of a boy who is at the age when "class" is of poignant importance and in a situation—on an ocean liner—where he would be keenest to measure himself against the new social experience. He travels third class, for example, but visits in first class with hardly a trace of the emotion of inferiority: there is one brief flurry with a steward, one interesting (though more appropriate to a thirteen-year-old than a fifteen-year-old) interchange with another boy passenger. He shows no interest in the mechanics of the ship, in the complications of landings and boat trains, in the million novelties of arriving in a strange country. His unawareness of his surroundings is so acute that when he returns to America and gives his high-school teacher his diary to read (another false note, by the way, for if Peter is anything, he is a boy who would rather die than expose himself by such a gesture), it comes as a surprise that anyone who had ever taught Peter should be disappointed that the diary is so bare. Is Peter supposed to be bright? Mr. Weidman failed to get it down on paper.

Or one could go through the book page by page, examining so many of his details of characterization. They are false, off-center, unconvincing. There is the matter of the aunt's hands, as an instance: her nails are scarred and shabby from factory work, she has to be shown how to care for them; but a young woman who would not know better than to let her hands betray her in this fashion would also betray her class in a hundred other ways which seem never to have occurred to Mr. Weidman—in her clothes, her speech, her table manners, even in the way she would receive the suggestion of a first manicure.

So then one wonders how a writer whose eye and ear are famed, from his previous novels, for their sharpness, as Mr. Weidman's are, could so have missed fire in this novel; and I think the answer is—cruelly—that neither Mr. Weidman nor any other of the narrow "realists" of the hard-boiled school ever does have an eye or ear really to be counted on. Like a general staff equipped with a series of plans to cover a series of possible military engagements, but with no military genius which can pull out Plan A for such a situation and Plan B for another, such writers have just enough talent to serve them in pat situations within rigidly limited spheres; on their own in a new situation, they go to pieces. We forget, as a matter of fact, how much of their "characterizing" we always do for them, how readily, once the button is pressed, we come across with the proper conditioned responses. A detective-story writer, for instance—and the hard-boiled novelists are symbiotic with the detective-story writers—has only to tell us of a certain individual that he has a gold tooth in the front of his mouth and that he wears a striped vest with a heavy gold chain, and we supply all the rest of the characterization, from his crudeness and greed to his lascivious conduct with women and his sentimental regard for his mother. For the working purposes of a story, if not for literature, once the proper button has been pressed, a character has been created.

And of course the temptation to this kind of speed-writing characterization is particularly great when a novelist deals with the racial minorities; after all, prejudice itself is a form of speed-writing. Jews especially are a pushover for this sort of thing. In the past, when Mr. Weidman wrote about Jews his ability to reproduce the rhythms of Jewish-American speech effectively substituted for the real work of a novelist. In "The Lights Around the Shore," when for the second time he writes about non-Jews and also attempts to write on an emotional level that demands that people be whole people instead of stage props, he proves how different it is to provide us with the recognizable paraphernalia of a "type" and really draw a character.

"The White Face" (McBride, $2.75), a first novel by Carl Ruthhaven Offord, a young Negro newspaperman, is worth study as a sociological report on one of the less well-known aspects of the Negro problem—the activities of fascist agents in Harlem. On the principle of divide and rule, and taking advantage of the bad feeling that already exists between the Harlem Negroes and their Jewish landlords, shopkeepers, and domestic employers, fascist agitators are evidently finding Harlem fertile territory for anti-Semitic propaganda. Mr. Offord's book may not be a good novel, but it is a chilling account of something that is much more than a footnote to the problems confronting us on the home front.

According to the publishers' information, C. S. Forester, author of "Captain Horatio Hornblower," spent only a few weeks on a warship of the Royal Navy gathering the material for "The Ship" (Little, Brown, $2.50); he must have studied assiduously. For Mr. Forester's latest novel is a perfect encyclopedia of naval information, only accidentally fictionalized but fascinating technical reading. Of course, as in all the sea-battle stories of this war which I have read, in proportion as the technical information of "The Ship" is detailed and clear, the people are misty and oversimplified; but perhaps that is an accurate reflection of ship life in time of war; perhaps it is even the saving of people that they can at least put up the appearance of subordinating themselves to the giant machinery they serve.

DIANA TRILLING

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RECORDS

ON Victor's May list is Griffes's Poem for flute and orchestra, played by Joseph Mariano with the Eastman-Rochester Symphony under Hanson (11-8349, $1.05). Most of the piece—which is to say all but the dance in the middle—is very fine; and it is astonishing in its demonstration of powers that are matured and assured. Griffes absorbed a great deal from others; but he absorbed what he could make his own and use as his own—as the medium of his own imagination and feeling. The performance seems good, and is well recorded; the surfaces of my review copy are poor.

Tchaikovsky's "Manfred" Symphony, of which Victor has issued a first recording made by Sevitzky with the Indianapolis Symphony (Set 940, $7.88), is rarely played—the only concert performance I can recall being Toscanini's with the New York Philharmonic. It was the first work by Tchaikovsky that he played; and it caused me to remark that Toscanini apparently was justifying his previous avoidance of Tchaikovsky by playing one of his weakest works. Rehearing it now I have found some of the thematic material as good as any of Tchaikovsky's (this is a mature work which stands, in order of composition, between the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies), and the use of the orchestra superb as always; but worse than an occasional passage of inferior quality is the lack of concentration throughout, which makes the work wearying. The performance is excellent, and is recorded with the clarity, spaciousness, and magnificence of sound of Victor's most recent orchestral recording. But many surfaces of my copy are poor, and sides 8 and 13 waver badly in pitch.

Fauré's incidental music to "Pélléas et Mélisande" is a sort of tonal cream-puff, valuable only as an occasion for some of the Boston Symphony's fabulous playing under Koussevitzky (Set 941, $2.63). On the records, however, this playing is reproduced not only without the magnificence of sound that one gets from the "Manfred" records, but without cleanness even in the sound one does get. The surfaces are poor, and two sides waver in pitch.

If, as someone insisted, it was I who called Balanchine's "Wanderer" "cosmic nonsense" when the American Ballet gave it, then I thought up a characterization of it which I cannot improve now after seeing the Ballet Theater's performance.

"The Specter of the Rose" has a sense which was destroyed, in the Ballet Theater's performance, by Eglevsky in the title role. For one thing he has a type of full-blown physical handsomeness which fits him for some other roles but which I would not pick to create the illusion of an incorporeal specter; nor was the illusion created, as it might have been nevertheless, by his movements. One marveled at the way the bulk was made to whirl on the ground and to soar or spin in the air, when one should have marveled at the apparent absence of any bulk at all. And worst of all was the fact that instead of a continuous outflow of emotion translated into a continuous line of movement in which each turn or leap was a mere point, there was a cessation of impulse as the body was placed in position for a series of turns, then the momentary release of impulse for the breath-taking execution of the unbelievable number of turns, then the cessation of impulse and breaking of line of pose and movement as the body was moved to another spot and placed in position for the next piece of technical brilliance, and so on. Svetlova danced beautifully.

As it happened, "The Specter of the Rose" was performed between "Aleko" and "Capriccio Espagnol," in each of which there was an exciting demonstration of continuity in movement by Lazovsky. With a non-professional eye I have tried to discover in Markova's dancing what produces its unique effect; and I have found it to be—for myself, at any rate—the emotional quality of the pattern of her body in one of those poses (analogous to the quality of the pattern of a tree in a Cézanne water-color)—the pattern completed at one end by the line of leg, of toe, at the other end by the line of arm, hand, fingers. It is the quality not only of the pattern at the end of a movement, but of the series of transitional patterns from the begining of the movement to its end—which is to say that it is also the quality of the movement itself, created by its initial rate, its acceleration, its slowing down; and Markova's dancing is a continuous flow of such movement creating such patterns. So with Lazovsky: watch him in the third scene of "Aleko," the finale of "Capriccio Espagnol," and you will see a continuous moving pattern being created, with arms continuing the line of movement of torso, and hands completing the line of movement of arms—a pattern made exciting in this case by its incisive rhythmic quality. I am not contending that Lazovsky is as great a dancer as Markova, but only pointing out that what she does he also does in sufficient degree to make him the Ballet Theater's outstanding male dancer outside of Massine. These two dancing together in "Capriccio Espagnol"—with Massine opposing his great presence and style to Lazovsky's sheer incandescence of rhythmical agility—are a marvelous spectacle.

The Ballet Theater now has a number of excellent works in its repertory that are superbly danced; it has a few which it and the public would be better off without. It would do well to drop "The Wanderer," "Helen of Troy," and a few others, and to give "Bluebeard" fewer times; and in any case it should stop its practice of putting one ballet like "Bluebeard" or "Helen of Troy" on almost every program, so that a person has to see it several times in order to see the other things once. In adding to its repertory it would do well to produce the ballets which Balanchine created to concertos of Bach, Mozart, and Tchaikovsky. And above all, when it produces a ballet with excellent dancers, excellent scenery and costumes, it should not have the music performed with an insufficiently rehearsed scratch orchestra.

B. H. HAGGIN

Art Note

PAINTINGS BY FORAIN. At the Coordinating Council of French Relief Societies, 457 Madison Avenue, until June 7.

This collection of Forain's paintings was assembled with some difficulty, the larger portion of his work being in France. However, there are enough here to show what a great painter he is. Ala Story says in the foreword, "As a deeply rooted human being he understood life in its entirety, and as the artist he responded to tragedy, mystery, and comedy. It is convincing truth in Forain's art which does not question but reveals a world which, even though we may not have experienced it before, seems familiar." This applies to all the paintings but is especially true of the courtroom scenes and of those depicting opera or cabaret, experts at work, and the life of the artist. At this exhibition one recaptures for a moment the beauty, harmony, and wit which France stands for.

JEAN CONNOLLY

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Letters to the Editors

Last Chance

Dear Sirs: Ely Culbertson's retort to Louis Fischer in your issue of May 22 was delightful. It is time more blueprints on the "shape of things to come" were analyzed in detail. That of Governor Stassen, for example, is much less complicated than Culbertson's. Why we need eleven or any "regional" federations in a world in which aircraft companies advertise that "no place on earth is more than sixty-four hours from your local airport" is difficult to understand.

Why Culbertson misses this particular argument against "regional federations" I do not know, especially as he hit the nail squarely on the head in his article by declaring that "liberal and socialistic formulas do not suffice" because the "something that is happening is specifically the revolution in communications and in the nature of military weapons."

As for the "nature of military weapons," I might add that atomic power is almost certain to be used in any third world war which we are stupid enough to permit. There would be enough energy in a single uranium-235 bomb to erase a city like London or New York completely from the map. Compared with the 4.5 trillion calories per gram-atomic of uranium 235, the arguments of our so-called "spiritual leaders" for organizing a "Commonwealth of Man" seem puerile. "Time's a wastin'," to quote ineffable Snuffy Smith. Why fool around with "regional" federations? If we're not ready to go "whole hog or none" now, *Homo sapiens* may never have another chance.

HERBERT M. MERRILL

Schenectady, N. Y., May 24

Error on Error

Dear Sirs: I find a curious error on page 651 in your issue of May 8, 1943. "For example," you say, "the 'Radek trial' of January, 1936, and the 'Bukharin trial' of March, 1936, are telescoped into one, . . ."

Radek, Bukharin, and Tukhachevsky were all tried separately *in 1937*. There was one purge trial in 1936, the trial of Zinoviev, Kamenev, and co-defendants in the fall of 1936. As a reporter I covered this trial for the International News Service.

And I might say that Bukharin made a public appearance as a free man in November, 1936, at the reception on November 7 at the home of the then Foreign Minister, now ambassador to the United States, Litvinov.

We lined up and shook hands with Bukharin. He looked pale, thin, and worried. All of us, the Moscow correspondents, had been trying to hint in our dispatches that he would be the next to be arrested, for his name had been mentioned during the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial. Now, here he was in the flesh. And nobody dared ask the shrinking fellow how long he would continue to be editor of *Izvestia*.

MILLY BENNETT

Somerton, Ariz., May 12

[Our faces are as red as "Mission to Moscow." Apparently the spirit of the film infected us.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Ideals and Facts

Dear Sirs: Every man and woman, and many children, are doing their best to help their country obtain victory at the earliest possible time. Many of us are concerned with seeing a new type of society arise out of the conflict we are now engaged in, a society based on democratic ideals, tolerance, and world cooperation. There are those of us who will live to witness a new society, but many will have died to make it possible.

We hope that the principles of the Atlantic Charter will be broadened to include not only the countries of North and South America and Europe but those of Asia and Africa, and our enemies as well as our allies; that India as well as China will be free from imperialistic domination, to which they have been subjected for centuries.

We still have, and believe in, our ideals. We have been asked to do this job and we will not quit until it is finished. But we are puzzled by the "reasons" given us as to why we are fighting. They say it is for the rights of individuals to be free to pursue the quest for happiness. They say we are fighting to have equality for all individuals, regardless of race, color, or nationality, that we fight against the fallacy of race and national superiority. And yet we witness the army's segregation of individuals because of differences in the color of their skin.

Advancement for men with ability is announced to soldiers, and to the public. Men are urged to apply for Officers' Candidate School. However it is not publicized that men do not enter O. C. S. on a basis of equality. Soldiers who speak with a foreign accent are "advised" by their company commander "diplomatically" to resign at once from the school, as there would be very little point in their completing the course. Is this equality for all individuals? Or is it sowing the seed for the next war?

CORPORAL

Somewhere in the U. S., May 21

Mr. Fry Objects

Dear Sirs: In your issue of May 15 Alvarez del Vayo refers to an article which I published in *The Nation* last year and which you called Our Consuls at Work. He concludes that "most of them sympathized with Vichy and with Franco. Most of them were ready to stamp any anti-fascist fighter as an outlaw on the pay roll of Moscow."

As I did not draw any conclusions in the article myself, but confined myself to reporting what I had seen, Mr. del Vayo is entitled to draw his own conclusions from the evidence I presented. But I should not like to leave it to be assumed that his conclusions are mine.

I found all kinds of men among our consuls abroad, just as one finds all kinds of men among government employees at home. If I were to make any generalization about them, I should say that many of them seemed to know a good deal less about the countries they were working in than they ought to have known. A few of them, a very few, were outspokenly anti-Semitic. Some seemed to have difficulty distinguishing a Socialist from a Communist. Few knew much if anything about the European labor movement. Some of them seemed hostile to all immigration and particularly the immigration of anti-fascists.

But I could not say myself that most of them sympathized with Vichy and Franco and were ready to stamp any anti-fascist fighter as an outlaw on the pay roll of Moscow. I think it would be doing them a grave injustice to make such sweeping generalizations about them.

VARIAN FRY

New York, May 20

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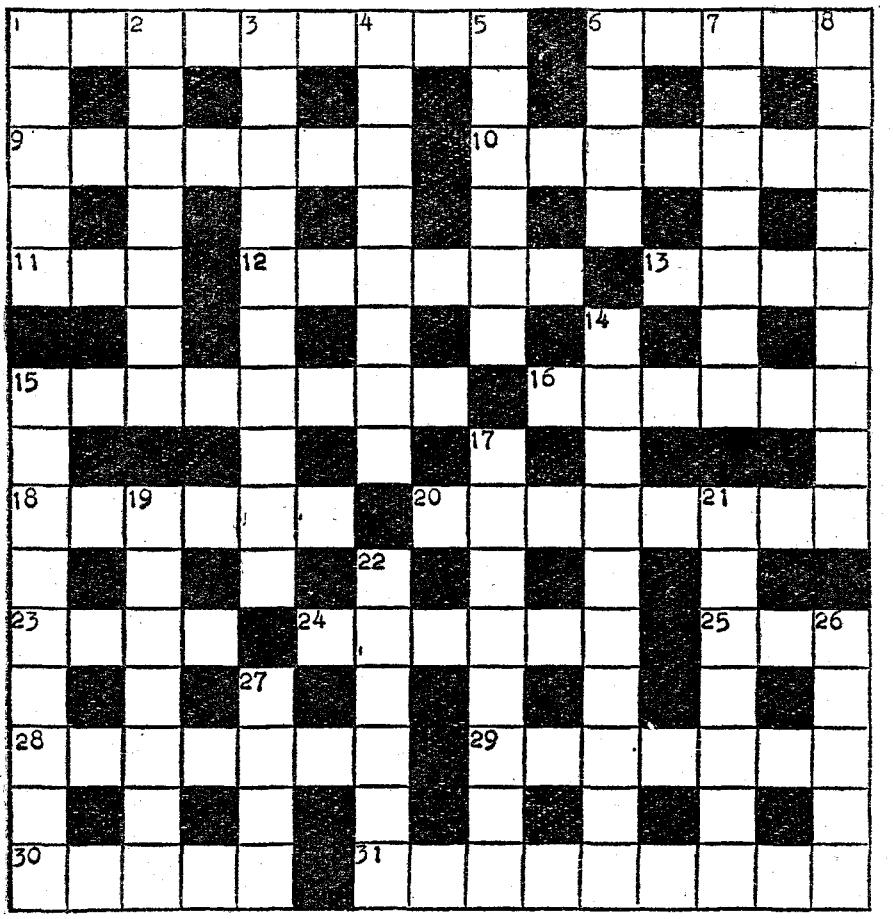
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 16

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Quack aid for trench feet
6 Old admiral who might have made a far-sighted wing commander
9 Late to the post, and in haste (two words, 4 and 3)
10 Trust Pa to alter it
11 He trained Samuel
12 She is embraced by father
13 A question of time
15 Preparing to face the music, modern style (two words, 6 and 2)
16 A shot from it might half empty one if it penetrated it
18 When I'm in the water I'm ready to fill your glass
20 Have a care to the fastening of the aircraft
23 It is senseless not to have a key to this
24 "A primrose by a river's brim a - - - - - - primrose was to him, and it was nothing more" (Wordsworth)
25 It's everything to you and me
28 Place by itself
29 Is his the lowest form of wit?
30 Taken by the venturesome
31 You should find the word you want in this

DOWN

1 *Donald* Duck must be, surely?
2 World's largest inland sea
3 Was the "Turkey Trot" one of them? (two words, 4 and 6)
4 Form of gas tonic
5 There's use in turned-up turf
6 I'll be darned!
7 Everybody complains about it, but nobody does anything about it
8 Fairly tied up
14 American Indian river
15 Has called several times, but always rung his own bell (two words, 4 and 5)
17 Breakdown of a close pal
19 Roofed in roods
21 A tax collector, perhaps
22 Nigger in the wood pile
26 Can these instruments ever give a true interpretation?
27 Crab catchers

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 15

ACROSS:—1 SOUNDING-BOARD; 10 LYING; 11 CHUNGKING; 12 CONTINENT; 13 NUDGE; 14 NEVERTHELESS; 19 CONSTITUTION; 22 ASCOT; 24 SPECULATE; 25 CONSULATE; 26 ISSUE; 27 DASTARDLINESS.

DOWN:—2 ONIONS; 3 NEGLIGENT; 4 INCLEMENT; 5 GAUNT; 6 ORGAN; 7 REINDEER; 8 SLICE; 9 OGREISH; 15 TO THE WELL; 16 EVOLUTION; 17 SCRATCH; 18 ANACONDA; 20 LASSES; 21 NEWER; 23 TRUST; 24 STAIR.

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